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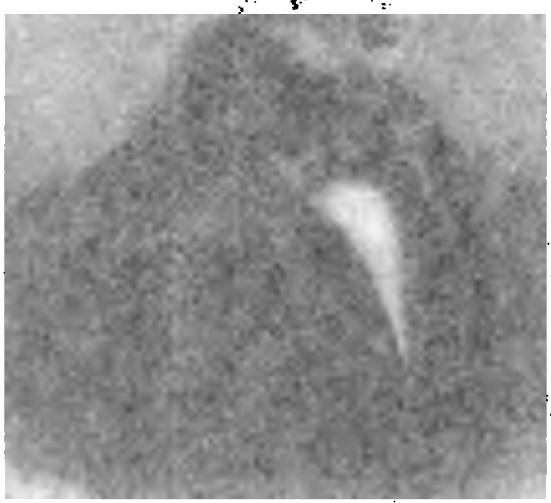

MEMOIRS

OF THE

COURTS AND CABINETS

OF

WILLIAM IV. AND VICTORIA.

FROM ORIGINAL FAMILY DOCUMENTS.

BY

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS,
K.G.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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CHAPTER I.

[1830.]

CAREER OF THE DUKE OF CLARENCE IN THE ROYAL NAVY — ASCENDS THE THRONE AS WILLIAM IV. — FUNERAL OF GEORGE IV. — PROVISION FOR MRS. FITZHERBERT — REFORM AGITATION — ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD — THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM APPOINTED LORD STEWARD OF THE HOUSEHOLD — DISTURBED STATE OF FRANCE — "THE THREE GLORIOUS DAYS" — THE IMPRESSION THEY CREATE IN ENGLAND — THE KING AND LORD ELDON.

CHAPTER I.

The Duke of Clarence ascended the throne of the British Empire under the title of William IV., accompanied by the most cordial wishes of his subjects of every grade. The antecedents of his Royal Highness had invested him with an extraordinary degree of personal favour, especially with the lower and middling classes, in consequence of his connexion with the more popular branch of the united services. Prince William Henry, as he was then styled, had commenced his naval career as a midshipman, under Captain Digby, in the *Royal George* of ninety-eight guns, as far back as the year 1779, and having ascended the subsequent steps, was appointed a Rear-admiral of the Blue by an order in council. He had previously been created Duke of Clarence.

His only subsequent employment in the British marine was in the year 1814, when, as Admiral of the Fleet, he had the command of the naval escort that attended Louis XIV. across the Channel on the return of that monarch to his kingdom; and in 1827, when he was appointed Lord High Admiral,

Fremantle in his place as treasurer of the late King's household. The other mourners were the Duke of Sussex, Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, and the Dukes of Cumberland and of Gloucester. The ceremony was extremely affecting, especially that portion of it where Sir George Nayler, Garter Principal King-of-arms, after pronouncing the titles, and announcing the demise of the deceased monarch, repeated the titles of his successor, concluding with the exclamation "God save King William the Fourth!" Increased effect was given to the solemnity of the scene by its occurring in the evening, for the number of torches that were carried threw a picturesque light over the various costumes worn by the different officials, while the sombre shadows of the building placed them in prominent relief.

William IV., almost immediately after the supreme power had been placed in his hands, gave very pleasing evidence of the kindness of his heart. An application was made to him on behalf of Mrs. Fitzherbert, of whose intimacy with his late brother when Prince of Wales, he must have been aware. The King, it has been stated, invited her to Windsor, treated her with the greatest respect, gave her permission to clothe her servants in the royal livery, placed implicit reliance in all her statements, and having sanctioned an arrangement by which all private papers were to be destroyed—with a few exceptions that were placed under

seal at Coutts's banking-house—settled upon her an income of 6000*l.* a-year. Mrs. Fitzherbert never forgot this liberal conduct, and to the close of her life spoke of it with the most earnest expressions of gratitude.[1]

Society had long been in an extremely disturbed state in England, and the imperfect development of liberal ideas during the supremacy of Mr. Canning had apparently given increased impetus to the popular desire for legislation in the same direction. This was particularly the case with the great question of Parliamentary Reform, which every day seemed to assume increased dimensions, while betraying a more hostile aspect towards those who opposed it. It was attempted to set the middle classes against the aristocracy, while the industrious portion of the community were stirred up to active hostility to the Conservative leaders, by representations that the latter were interested in making bread dear and labour cheap. It is impossible for an unprejudiced person to look over the speeches and publications ostensibly addressed at this period to the English people, without a painful conviction of the injustice done to a party to whose exertions, through a period of terrible danger, the country owed its greatness as a nation. A hundred national advantages were forgotten, and many legislative improvements ignored.

[1] "Memoirs of Mrs. Fitzherbert." By the Hon. Charles Langdale.

Only two days after the accession of the new Sovereign, a significant meeting was held at Manchester, of members of various trades unions, preliminary to the creation of a national association to prevent a reduction in wages. It produced many speeches on the ostensible object of this assemblage of delegates, as well as declarations of plans for organizing all branches of industry, with a view to exert influence over their employers, and in time over the Government. They expressed the strength of their body by affirming that by levying a subscription of a penny per man they could raise a fund of £1,683,333.

Such demonstrations were not regarded with perfect complacency by the Duke of Wellington, then at the head of the Administration; and these signs of the times were not overlooked by the Whigs who had supported his Government. An estrangement soon became evident, and a general conviction appeared to be forming that the Duke would not be able to retain his post. While Parliament was sitting a message came from the King, June 29, announcing its speedy dissolution, and, in consequence, recommending the despatch of all business of importance. On the 30th the Duke moved an address to the King in the House of Peers, declaratory of the willingness of that assembly to proceed with such business; after which Earl Grey brought forward an amendment for an adjournment of the House, to afford

proper time for the consideration of the Civil List, and for the establishment of a Regency. It was rejected by nearly two to one—the numbers of the division being 100 to 56. A similar amendment being moved in the Commons by Lord Althorp, the result was 183 to 139. The Whigs had again joined the Opposition.

Parliament was prorogued on the 23rd of July, when a speech from the new sovereign congratulated the assembly prematurely—as was soon proved—on the tranquillity prevailing throughout Europe, and expressed the King's satisfaction at the relief afforded to the community at large by the recent repeal of certain taxes, and his congratulations upon the judicial reforms which had been accomplished, as well as for the removal of disqualifications that had pressed on particular classes of his subjects. On the following day Parliament was dissolved, and now a general election was about to be added to other disturbing causes that agitated the entire fabric of society.

King William evidently strove to realize the expectations of the people generally, apparently maintaining by his actions the favourable contrast with his predecessor that had already been established for him. In nothing was this more evident than in the frequency with which his Majesty showed himself in public, particularly in such spectacles as were known to be most popular; but he did not neglect those in which the higher classes were

interested. On the 19th of July the King inspected the Coldstream Guards in St. James's Park, attended by the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, to the great gratification of a large assemblage of spectators of all ranks. On the same day his Majesty invested the Duke of Sussex with the Order of the Thistle, and subsequently held a Court at St. James's Palace, when he received addresses from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

On the following day the King inspected the first and second battalions of the 3rd Regiment of Guards, when the officers were presented to him. He was again attended by the Royal Dukes, as well as by Prince George of Cumberland, the Prince Leopold Frederick of Prussia, the Duke of Wellington, and a brilliant assemblage of field-officers. His Majesty afterwards went to see the exhibition of pictures of the Royal Academy, then at Somerset House. His reception in the Park, as well as in the Gallery, was extremely gratifying, and his affability was the theme of every tongue.

Again, on the 21st, the King inspected two regiments of Life Guards in the Regent's Park: this time his retinue was rendered more brilliant by the addition of the Queen and some of the ladies of her suite. All recollection of the very popular lady who had ten years before appeared in that character, had evidently faded from the popular

mind, and Queen Adelaide was not at all likely to call her to their memory. Their Majesties subsequently honoured the Duke of Wellington with their company to breakfast at Apsley House, after which they returned to St. James's Palace, where the King held his first levee. On the same day he conferred the honour of knighthood on the President of the Royal Academy (Martin Archer Shee), and on that distinguished astronomer, James South, as well as on the Sheriff of London and the Mayor of Liverpool—the opening of a new reign demanding the recognition of the claims to distinction of successful commercial enterprise equally with art and science.

On the following day there was another military spectacle—the inspection by the King of the first and second battalions of the Grenadiers, and of the 9th or Queen's Regiment of Lancers, on the parade in front of the Horse Guards. On the same day was announced in the "Gazette" a general promotion in both services; the restoration to his rank in the army of Major-General Sir Robert Wilson, and his promotion as Lieutenant-General—a measure that gave universal satisfaction; for though this officer had justly forfeited his position by his conduct at a period of great public excitement, his previous services had been very important, and a deprivation for ten years of the emoluments of his military rank was considered a sufficient punishment for that indiscretion.

The announcement of changes in the royal household was not made till the 24th, when the establishment thus appeared:—

Earl of Jersey . . .	*Lord Chamberlain.*
Earl of Belfast . . .	*Vice-Chamberlain.*
Lt.-Gen. Sir Herbert Taylor, G.C.B.	*Private Secretary.*
Major-Gen. Wheatley . .	*Keeper of the Privy Purse.*
Adm. Sir Charles Pole, Bart., G.C.B.	*Master of the Robes.*
Captain Adolphus Fitzclarence, R.N.[1]	*Groom of the Robes.*
Major-Gen. Sir A. Barnard, K.C.B., K.C.H. . .	*Chief Equerry and Clerk Marshal.*
Sir Philip Sidney, K.C.H. .	*Equerries.*
Lt.-Col. Frederick Fitzclarence[1]	
Lt.-Col. Sir Augustus D'Este, K.C.H.	
and	
The Hon. J. K. Erskine .	
Lord James O'Bryan and the Marquis of Hastings .	*Lords of the Bedchamber.*
Henry Hope, Esq., and Sir Hussey Vivian . .	*Grooms of the Bedchamber.*
Hon. Sir R. Spencer, K.C.H.	*Extra Groom.*
The Marquis of Cholmondely .	*Deputy Great Chamberlain of England.*

[1] The King's sons.

The principal officers of the Queen's household were—

Earl Howe . . .	*Lord Chamberlain.*
Hon. Frederick Cathcart .	*Vice-Chamberlain.*
Duchess Dowager of Leeds .	*Mistress of the Robes.*
Marchionesses of Westmeath, Wellesley, and Ely; Countesses Mayo and Brownlow, and Lady Clinton . .	*Ladies of the Bedchamber.*
Lady Caroline Wood . .	*Principal Bedchamber Woman.*
Ladies William Russell, Isabella Wemyss, Bedingfield, and Gore; Hon. Mrs. Hope and Miss Wilson . . .	*Bedchamber Women.*
Misses Olivia de Roos, Hope Johnstone, Boyle, Eden, F. Sneyd, and Mitchell .	*Maids of Honour.*
Earl of Errol . . .	*Master of the Horse.*
Colonel Macdonnel . .	*First Equerry.*
Capt. Usher, R.N.; Lt.-Col. Fox	*Equerries.*
John Barton, Esq. . .	*Treasurer.*
W. Horne, Esq. . . .	*Attorney-General.*
John Williams, Esq. . .	*Solicitor-General.*
Capt. G. Pechell, R.N.; Lieut.-Col. Sir Geo. Hoste; Capt. Vincent, R.N. . .	*Gentlemen Ushers of Privy Chamber.*
Lieut.-Col. J. Wilson, Hon. G. Strangeways, Captain Stanhope, R.N. . . .	*Daily Waiters.*
Capt. H. Murray, Mr. R. Cumberland, and Major Wright	*Quarterly Waiters.*

A review on a grand scale was held by the King in Hyde Park on the 26th of the Household Troops, with two troops of horse and two batteries of foot artillery, under the command of General Lord Combermere, and on the following day there was another at Woolwich of the Artillery and Engineers. His Majesty and suite partook of a repast with the officers; after having proposed as a toast "The Royal Artillery," the King gave "The Duke of Wellington, and the Army and Navy combined." It was of course received with due honour. Indeed, it would have been difficult to decide with which of the united services the sovereign had by this time most identified himself. His frequent personal inspections and liberal promotions had elevated him to the highest pinnacle of favour with the army; whilst the navy claimed him not only as their fountain of honour, but as their official chief.

On the 28th, his Majesty held a second levee that was still more thronged with the nobility and persons of distinction than the preceding. And on the following day the King, with whom the Duke of Buckingham had long maintained relations of social intimacy, honoured the Duke with the appointment of Lord Steward of his Majesty's Household—a post that had always been regarded as one of the most covetable distinctions at the disposal of the Sovereign. The possession, however, involved an unusual amount of responsibility; for during the last few years the economists in the

House of Commons had made more than one attack on the domestic expenditure of the Crown, and in consequence of investigations that had followed, it had been proved that much carelessness had prevailed in the arrangements of the royal household with tradespeople. The charges of the latter had been extravagant, the purveyance marked by many abuses, and though there could be no possible objection to the King being served in the best manner with whatever was necessary for his comfort or state, an increasing desire began to manifest itself in Parliament to check any tendency to profusion or waste in the palace, particularly in the department of the Lord Steward.

However disturbed may have been some of the elements of society in England, they bore but a remote resemblance to the effervescence that had long been in operation on the Continent. Our lively neighbours across the Channel had submitted —though not entirely with a good grace—to the rule of Louis XVIII. After his death the impatience exhibited by a large and increasing section of the people of France, of control from a Government they still continued to consider as having been forced upon them by foreigners, became daily more difficult to repress.

Charles X. appeared to have come to the conviction that the time had gone by for attempts at conciliation; and having in August, 1829, appointed as the director of his Government Prince Polignac,

whose extreme views were well known, he made it evident that he was about to inaugurate a coercive policy, with the object of putting down the opposers of his system of rule. This was quite sufficient to excite the hostility of the lower and middle classes and their advocates, who were too well acquainted with the power of the democratic principle in France to entertain apprehensions of the success of any scheme to establish an absolute monarchy under a Bourbon. Opposition was soon exhibited both by precept and example. A large and influential portion of the press commenced the most bitter attacks upon the Government, while everywhere there appeared an intention of withholding the taxes, and of combining to support such persons as might be prosecuted for their non-payment.

At this time the position of Charles X. was full of risk; for although he may have possessed a Ministry willing to carry out his policy, he had neither an army devoted to his service, nor any other powerful body inclined to hazard their lives and possessions by assisting him in establishing measures denounced by a large majority of the nation. The glories of the First Napoleon had not entirely obliterated the marks of devastation which the great revolutionary eruption had left on France, and shrewd observers, though aware that the social volcanoes of Paris had long been inactive, were apprehensive that they might burst forth again with increased violence.

The Chamber of Deputies, having displayed much sympathy with the popular cause, was dissolved; but the election returned an assembly still more opposed to the King. On ascertaining this, and finding that the influence of the press was becoming more and more menacing, the Ministers addressed a report to their Sovereign, recommending a reconstruction of the Chamber on account of its democratic tendency, and the suppression of the press in consequence of its seditious spirit. The document was published in the *Moniteur* on the 26th of July, simultaneously with an Ordinance from the King, intended to realize both its suggestions.

These proceedings had excited the most profound attention in England, where, as usual, the lookers-on were divided into two parties—one supporting the French King, the other as energetically the French people. Indeed, it seems as if the last measure of Charles was as much a suggestion of his English friends as of his responsible advisers; for a review of high reputation in the course of an article on M. Cottu's *De la Nécessité d'une Dictature*, recently published in Paris, contained the following sentence:—

"We therefore hope and trust that the King of France and his present Ministers may succeed, if such be their object, in establishing a censorship on the Press, and likewise in acquiring so decided a preponderance in the Chamber of Deputies that its existence as an independent body, capable of beard-

ing the Monarchy as it has recently done, shall be no longer recognised."[1]

The encouragement given by the liberal journals in England to those Frenchmen who had shown the most active opposition to their Government, was equally plainspoken. Indeed, in this country the interest taken in the struggle, was only a little less lively than was felt by the contending parties; for the friends of regal government here would only regard it as a contest of the Crown with Republicanism; whilst our popular orators as strongly insisted on its being the attempt of a long-suffering people to do battle with arbitrary rule.

The principals in this important conflict were unequally matched. The King appears to have read in vain the history of his own country during the last half-century, or, as had been applied to the Bourbons generally after their return from exile, had remembered nothing and forgot nothing, while the opponents of his rule had every chapter of it by heart. The rashness of the former was only made manifest when his weakness had become a fact patent to all Europe. The audacity of the latter grew more conspicuous at every step they took, and proved how certain they were of the substantial support of their countrymen.

The first indication of the feeling with which the obnoxious proclamation was regarded in Paris was the publication in one of the newspapers, signed

[1] "Quarterly Review," lxxxv. 239.

by twenty-eight editors and proprietors, of a declaration of their sentiments. They boldly stated—"In the situation in which we are placed, obedience ceases to be a duty. We are relieved from obeying. We resist the Government in what concerns ourselves;" and they added suggestively, "It is for France to determine how far her resistance should extend." The required determination was soon expressed.

There was a military force in the metropolis that amounted to 11,500 men, and these were to be employed in carrying out the spirit of the Ordinance. A portion was at once called into requisition to visit the offices of the public journals that had continued to appear, despite the law that had been published for their suppression, and they broke their presses and scattered their type. Such proceedings greatly increased the excitement.

The manufacturers having discharged their workmen, formidable mobs assembled in different parts of the city, shouting cries of "*Vive la Charte!*" because apparently they were under the impression that the Charter had become a dead letter. They did not come into collision with the military till the following day, when attempts were made to disperse them by repeated charges of horse and foot, in which it is said both sabres and firearms were used freely. The first combatant on the popular side was an Englishman named Foulkes, who fired at the soldiers from his apartments in one

of the hotels. This was replied to by a volley, and Foulkes paid for his temerity with his life. He was not the only victim; unfortunately, too, as is usually the case in such commotions, many innocent persons shared his fate.

The blood that had been shed excited the populace to frenzy; and on the night of the 27th, active preparations were made for a deadly struggle. Barricades were raised, and the citizens, assuming the uniform of the National Guard, appeared in great strength, defending them. Marshal Marmont, who had the command of the King's troops, found it necessary on the following morning to make a combined attack; but after a partial success, the fire from the windows and barriers forced him in less than four-and-twenty hours to abandon a position he had gained with very heavy loss. The Marshal sent to the King for instructions, and was directed to attack with masses. Persons of influence proceeded both to the commander and to the Minister, with the object of striving to effect a pacific arrangement; but Prince Polignac would not withdraw the Ordinance, and Marshal Marmont was obliged to follow his instructions.

Paris was declared in a state of siege, and martial law proclaimed, and the night of the 28th passed in increased activity by the entire population of Paris. More barricades were raised, and a much larger force defended them. As early as half-past three in the morning, the tocsin sounded, and the

stern cry *Aux armes!* was raised in all directions. The people flocked to attack the palaces, and were joined by two regiments of the line. After a desperate conflict, the Louvre and the Tuileries were in the hands of the populace, and Marmont, finding his troops beaten at every point, withdrew on the afternoon of the 29th. His losses could not have weakened him much; for, according to the returns, only 578 men were killed and wounded. Of the people, 390 were killed on the spot, and 2500 wounded, of whom 306 died.

The revolution, however, was completed by the Marshal's retreat; for the King fled, and the dissolved Chamber of Deputies met on the 31st. Their first legislative act was to offer the government of the kingdom to Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, who had only been in Paris a few hours; and the Duke having consulted with Prince Talleyrand, accepted the office of Lieutenant-General.

A careful consideration of this three days' struggle cannot but produce the impression that the military employed to defend their Sovereign, performed their duties most inefficiently. It has been said that their commander had no heart in the cause he had undertaken; but this must have been the case with his officers as well as with his troops. Possibly the King had not excited anything resembling military ardour in the army he had concentrated at Paris expressly to support him in the conflict he had provoked; but it was the duty of his Ministers to have

ascertained this, previously to their allowing their Sovereign to stake his throne upon such an issue.

If the combat had been as fierce as it has been represented, the soldiers must have been more roughly handled than they were. With the exception of the defence made by the Swiss, nothing like the resistance which might have been expected from so strong a military force, was made at any point; and when the troops had gained important advantages, it is singular that they should have abandoned them, without making an effort to clear the neighbouring houses of the armed men they contained. Certainly Marshal Marmont did not add to his military reputation by his services to his royal master on these eventful days. Very remarkable was the seasonable appearance of the Duke of Orleans on the scene of action, just in time to become "master of the situation." Some persons went the length of saying that the Duke was better acquainted with the movement that had dethroned his kinsman, and sent him a fugitive from his capital, than appeared on the surface. A few who were acquainted with the secret history of political events in France, ventured to affirm that it was not the first time he had intrigued against the elder branch of his family; but what excited most comment was the announcement of the Duke's association with that veteran actor on revolutionary boards, Prince Talleyrand, immediately before his undertaking the *rôle* in the great drama that had given him such extraordinary prominence.

Whatever may have been whispered as to the hidden springs of action that had brought about this momentous change, it did not affect in the slightest degree the Duke's confidence in his good fortune. In return for the high office with which he had been invested, he promised largely, particularly dwelling on the future inviolability of the Charter which his predecessor had treated with such indignity. "The Charter," he proclaimed to the Parisians, "will henceforth be a truth." This was quite as rash a proclamation as the Ordinance. The Parisians, however, accepted it with implicit faith. Perhaps they were satisfied of their power to maintain the principle of the Charter, having been so successful in protesting against its violation. Be this as it may, they were in much too good humour with themselves and their new chief to quarrel with his promises; and to do him but justice, he did his best to make this pleasant state of feeling continuous. It was impossible that he could have exerted himself more to humour his countrymen than he did; he anticipated their wishes to render the three days' struggle glorious in the annals of France, and it was not his fault if every Parisian did not consider himself a hero.

Paris, that had seen many changes of government, was in ecstasies with the last transformation, and it was amid universal self-congratulation of the citizens that the Chambers were opened on the 3rd of August by their chief magistrate. Every place

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was crowded, for all ranks thronged to see how well they had simplified the imposing machinery that had heretofore been thought essential to the proper working of the French Constitution; and every eye was directed to the Duke of Orleans.

He fully satisfied public expectation; for from his place in the Assembly he addressed the French nation in a forcible speech, in which he dwelt emphatically on the recent violation of the Charter, and no less powerfully on the guarantees that had been provided against future encroachments. He was so good as to aver that he was attached to the principle of a free government by inclination as well as by conviction; but though he did not state how long the attachment had existed, he expressed his readiness to accept the consequences that might arise from the introduction of such a form of government into the management of French affairs.

The orator added: "The past is painful to me. I deplore misfortunes I could have wished to prevent; but in the midst of this magnanimous transport of the capital, and of all the other French cities, at the sight of order reviving with marvellous promptness after a resistance free from all excesses, a just national pride nerves my heart, and I look forward with confidence to the future destiny of the country. Yes, gentlemen," he continued, "France, which is so dear to me, will be happy and free."

The Lieutenant-General of the kingdom ventured

upon this prophecy as boldly as he had accepted the first place in the Government. "It will show to Europe," he added, "that, solely engaged with its internal prosperity, it loves peace as well as liberty, and desires only the happiness and the repose of its neighbours." The desire was not accomplished any more than the prophecy.

In conclusion, the speaker did not fail to announce the abdication of Charles X., who had fled to Rambouillet, and, after showing a little hesitation, was now *en route* to the sea-coast.

Nothing could be more satisfactory in the way of statements, nothing more liberal in the shape of promises. The French nation listened, commended, and considered the propriety of giving additional powers to their Lieutenant-General, the better to enable him to realize the expectations he had created.

The daily reports published in the English newspapers of the proceedings in Paris, greatly agitated the middle and lower classes in Great Britain. Manufacturers and workmen throughout the empire were constantly called upon to express their approval of the grand and successful demonstration that had been made by their industrious brethren across the Channel. It is impossible to exaggerate the enthusiasm which the termination of the struggle excited in the popular mind. The marvellous victory of democracy over monarchy gave such a stimulus to what was called the liberal cause,

that it appeared likely to bear down everything before it.

In vain "the Sailor King" scarcely missed a day in showing himself to his subjects. The attraction of royalty was evidently losing its influence before the more exciting pictures of its destruction that continued to dazzle the vision of the multitude; and "the pomp and circumstance" of mimic war were neglected for recitals of well-defended barricades and gallant attacks of royal palaces, and the pitiless slaughter of royal troops. There were few among the working classes in this country who did not believe, during the excitement these events produced, that such an example might easily be followed, and there were not wanting professional patriots ready to strengthen this assurance.

The King continued to do everything that could be suggested to maintain his popularity, and, to increase the efficiency of the army, authorized some important changes. His Majesty's activity and attention to business were said to astonish every one. It was confidently stated that he rose at six in the morning, and got through despatches and other documents with incredible celerity.

A few changes were made in some of the minor offices of the Government, and Lord Francis Leveson Gower was appointed Secretary at War; but by these the Duke of Wellington did not seem to obtain any material strength; and the general election, with so powerful an exciting cause against the Govern-

ment as the intelligence from the French capital, was thought likely to produce an overpowering Opposition. Negotiations were commenced by each political party to increase its ranks. It is doubtless to such a communication that the writer of the following letter refers in its first two paragraphs:—

RT. HON. CH. W. WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Llangedwin, 3rd Aug. 1830.

My dear B.

Upon my arrival this evening at Llangedwin I have found the enclosed letter recommended to my best offices not only by Lord C * * * *, whose letter you will see on the same sheet, but by some others of my most respectable friends in Montgomeryshire.

I therefore cannot refuse to forward it to you, and to express the interest which I take in the success of the request which it contains; but should any cause render a compliance with it improper or inconvenient, you will much oblige me by sending me an *ostensible* line in answer.

The accounts from Paris seem to me one more incomprehensible than another. Rash and precipitate as the King's first step appeared to be, I could not have believed that he could have adopted it without some previous precautions to afford it a chance of success, or at least without being prepared to *payer de sa personne* to support it. But I cannot understand how it is that not a single Royalist account of what has happened, should yet have made its appearance.

Believe me ever,

Most affectionately yours,

Ch. W. W.

Lord Grenville had been deeply interested in the struggle that had been going on in Paris, but seems to have entertained a higher opinion of Charles X. than Mr. Wynn has expressed. With a knowledge of the conduct of Louis XVIII. to the Duke of Buckingham, it is singular that he should have laid such stress on the gratitude of his successor to England. Nor could much reliance have been placed on the latter's amicable disposition towards this country. It is plain, too, that Lord Grenville put no faith on the "repose" to neighbouring States which the new Lieutenant-General of France had ventured to promise in his speech to the Chambers.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Aug. 4, 1830.

Certainly this *quiet* termination (quiet at least for the present) is the best thing that could be hoped for in the new French revolution. But the loss of a King there, who was from feelings of personal honour grateful to England, and from religious principle and political interest a sincere lover of peace with us, is a great misfortune to this country; and I fear this new Government in France is as decidedly hostile in its dispositions towards us as the last was friendly.

Have your swans bred this year, so as to enable you to spare us a brace of young ones for our grand *lake* here?

I know of nothing approaching to a *good* kitchen gardener—such a one we have never had—but only flower gardeners and planters.

The desire to possess swans for ornamental water in pleasure grounds, had become general; and Lord Grenville having established a lake in those at Dropmore, was desirous of seeing Wordsworth's well-known verse there realized. He also took much pleasure in his garden—apparently less on account of its floral recommendations than for the cultivation of vegetables and fruits, which he thought not sufficiently attended to. This was not the case in the early history of the garden in this country. After the Conquest the best planters and gardeners in England were the monks, who made their monasteries famous for fruit-trees and herbs. The amateur gardeners of the seventeenth century, particularly Evelyn and Sir William Temple, were equally attentive to the claims of the kitchen garden. Lord Grenville was, however, very fond of flowers, and had always many varieties of the choicest kind blooming in the parterre or in the greenhouse.

The King was always anxious to gratify those around him. Lord Eldon bears his testimony to his goodness of heart. Before his accession, the Prince had been on indifferent terms with the Lord Chancellor, who shortly afterwards went with Dr. Gray, Bishop of Bristol, to the Palace with an address. "After it had been presented," Lord Eldon states, "as I was passing, the King stopped me, and said—

"'My lord, political parties and feelings have

run very high, and I am afraid I have made observations upon your lordship, which now—'"

Lord Eldon interrupted him, begging his Majesty's pardon, but could not permit the language of apology to come from the lips of his Sovereign.

A little later in the same year, while the King was staying at Salt Hill, Lord Eldon's youngest son met him by accident while riding out, when he was cordially invited to dine at Windsor Castle.

King William's efforts to render himself popular at the commencement of his reign were not approved of by the sagacious Minister, who dreaded the effect of too much familiarity with Majesty. Writing to Lord Stowell, he says, "I hear the condescensions of the King are beginning to make him unpopular. In that station such familiarity must produce the destruction of respect. If the people don't continue to think a king somewhat more than a man, they will soon find out that he is not an object of that high respect which is absolutely necessary to the utility of his character."

A more pleasing instance of the King's readiness to forget unpleasant circumstances was displayed by him on coming to the throne. The head of George IV.'s last Administration was the Duke of Wellington, who in his official capacity had found it necessary to express something very like censure on certain proceedings of the Duke of Clarence when Lord High Admiral. So far from this creating any unkind feeling against the Duke, nothing could

be more cordial than the King's manner towards him when desiring him and his colleagues to retain their posts; and during his reign, when in any difficulty, if there was one person in the kingdom to whom he was desirous of referring for advice, it was to the Duke of Wellington.

The impression created on the King's mind by the French revolution was a painful one. Though ready to acknowledge the new state of things, and acquiescing cheerfully in recognising the position of the Duke of Orleans, he could not help feeling some sympathy for the family of the unfortunate Charles X. A safe asylum they were sure to find in England, and their arrival was looked for both by the King and his Ministers with considerable anxiety.

CHAPTER II.

[1830.]

PROCEEDINGS IN FRANCE — THE THRONE OFFERED TO THE DUKE OF ORLEANS — ARRIVAL OF CHARLES X. IN ENGLAND — EXPENSES IN THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD — PROCEEDINGS OF THE LIBERALS — GENERAL ELECTION — THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY AND THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON — SIR HENRY WATKYN WILLIAMS WYNN — REFORM IN THE LORD STEWARD'S DEPARTMENT — LOUIS PHILIPPE, KING OF THE FRENCH.

CHAPTER II.

THE great drama that had been performing in France was not quite played out. The Chamber of Deputies had continued its sittings, and had discussed many interesting subjects; but the most important portion of their labours had been devoted to the consideration of a fit successor to the vacant throne of France. A large majority decided in favour of the claims of their Lieutenant-General, and the President, accompanied by the entire Assembly, waited on his Royal Highness at the Palais Royale, to offer the throne in *perpetuity* to him and his male descendants. In reply, the Duke of Orleans is stated to have said, that he received the appointment with profound emotion; and accepted it as an expression of the national will, which, he assured his auditors, was conformable to the political principles he had always professed.

After this, everything in favour of the new dynasty went on as merrily as a marriage bell; while the old one and its adherents were striving hard to get to a place of safety. Charles X. and his family were permitted to embark from [illegible]

bourg. His Ministers, Peyronnet and De Chantelauze, were overtaken at Tours, and committed to prison; the same adverse fate befalling Prince Polignac; but Baron d'Haussez contrived to get on board a fishing-boat at Dieppe, and after having been four nights at sea, reached the coast of Sussex on the 6th of August. The arrival of the fugitive King had for some days been expected, and a few friends in England appear to have been earnest in their endeavours to secure the exile a proper asylum.

RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Ashridge, 12 Aug. 1830.

My dearest Duke,

An excursion to this place for two or three days from Dropmore has a little retarded my answer to yours of the 8th, which I received just as I was coming hither. My brother, however well disposed in imagination to a Stowe visit, is in truth too much of an invalid to undertake to sleep in any bed but his own. Of Elizabeth [Lady Carysfort] there might be better hopes, but that she is, I believe, all but on the wing for Castle Hill; so that the only chance that she and Lady Wms. [Lady Williams Wynne] would have of profiting of your invitation would be on their return in the autumn, if you should happen to be there at that time. For myself, I will certainly pass three or four days with you towards the 26th or 27th inst., of which I will give you more distinct notice when I can fix the positive day. I trust I have no chance of running against kings, princes, or grandees at that time.

I was quite astounded to hear that Dr. Lee is gone to

Southampton to offer Hartwell to Charles X.; the Dr. being, I hope, the only man in England who has any wish to see him in our land. For myself, I own I have quite a dread of his being allowed to come here. It is painful to think of refusing an asylum to any who ask it, but persuaded as I am that his stay here would promote in France a jealousy that would soon kindle into a war, I cannot think the duty of hospitality should place us in so fearful a risk. Our first duty is to the peace and tranquillity of our own country. This seems to be so entirely the opinion of every individual whom I have seen, that I do hope that general cry will drown the voice of Dr. Lee and his invitation to Hartwell. Shall we escape war even so? Look at Belgium. See the chance of republican Spain if France ends in a republic. I see nothing but fear. Love to the dear Duchess.

Ever most affectionately yours,

THOS. GRENVILLE.

The ex-King of France arrived at Spithead on the 17th, and an offer having been made in the name of Cardinal Weld, of Lulworth Castle, Dorsetshire, Charles X. accepted it, and having subsequently landed at Poole, with his family and suite, they proceeded in four carriages to the park, and he was received at the Castle by the cardinal's brother. These exiles comprised the King,[1] under the travelling name of the Duke of Milan; the Duke de Luxembourg, Captain of the Life Guards; Baron

[1] He subsequently took up his residence at Holyrood Palace; but after a short sojourn there left England for the dominions of the Emperor of Austria, where he remained till his death.

O'Hagerty, Master of the Horse; Baron Kingzenger, Secretary; and Dr. Bougon, Physician; Princess Maria Theresa Louisa; the Duchesses d'Angouleme, de Berri, and de Goutaud; Countesses St. Maur, Charette, and Murnar; Counts Mignard, de Brissac, de Charette, de Martras, and de Bouillie; the Duc de Bourdeaux, and General Baron de Damas.

Numerous subordinates taxed the accommodations of Lulworth Castle, but these proved equal to the demand, and every one appeared as comfortable as French people of family could make themselves under such a marked change of circumstances, without being in the slightest degree aware of the perturbation their domiciliation on English ground created in several English statesmen; for Mr. Thomas Grenville was not alone in his fears of a war with France arising out of this offer of a shelter to their fugitive sovereign.

The Treasurer of his late Majesty's Household had the good fortune to be retained in his position. This appears to have been owing to the new King's regard for the Duke of Buckingham, for whom his Majesty seemed never tired of showing the kindest consideration. An example of the warmth of this feeling is shown in the following letter:—

RIGHT HON. SIR W. H. FREMANTLE, G.C.H., TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Aug. 16, 1830.

MY DEAR DUKE,

The King, in making out a list of persons to dine at Windsor Castle on the 21st (his Majesty's birthday), ordered me to invite your Grace, saying, "I wish you to tell the Duke I shall be most happy to see him; but being settled at Stowe, if he should have made any arrangement for that day, or if he should have the slightest apprehension of gout, I beg he will have no difficulty in making his excuses. I would not invite so large a company without including the Duke of Buckingham, but he must not consider it *an order*. I really wish him to consult entirely his own convenience." This morning I received the enclosed from Lord Clinton.[1] I have a bed very much at your service, and we shall be most delighted to see you.

I think you had better write your answer to Sir Frederick Watson, who is at Windsor. The dress is frock, but whether mourning is put off for the day I cannot say. The invitations already amount to nearly ninety persons. Since his Majesty has been at Windsor there have seldom been less than forty at dinner. I am in dread at the expense, but Watson assures me that every attention is paid to keep down expense, and at the same time to preserve regularity in our accounts.

Ever, my dear Duke, very faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

P.S.—Let me know by a line if you come here.

William IV. was anxious that his expenses should

[1] The enclosure has not been preserved.

be on as moderate a scale as possible. This, coupled with apprehensions of parliamentary comments, made the Treasurer of the Household watch any extraordinary disbursements with uneasiness. He writes on this subject more than once, to bring such points under the attention of the Lord Steward. The Duke, however, was more fortunate in this respect than his predecessor had been, and by a proper superintendence, contrived to escape everything resembling censure. The following is in answer to one of his invitations :—

RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, 22 August, 1830.

I can now propose myself to you, my dear Duke, at Stowe for Saturday next, the 28th inst., and if this should suit you I will trouble you to let this note be left at the Cobham Arms, that they may send me a pair of horses to Winslow.

I find no other news from Lord Clare, who came here yesterday, except of the intended residence of Charles X. and his family at Lulworth. I am too full of fears for my own country to consent to risk its peace for the sake of any French King upon his throne or at the foot of it; and therefore I think this very bad news, being strongly impressed with the belief that the residence of Charles X. in this country will immediately produce great jealousies and heartburnings in France, and ultimately blow up into war. The only chance of avoiding it might be by an early and frank acknowledgment of their new King, and even that will not appease the natural suspicions which France

will entertain at seeing their ex-King, son, and grandson under the protection of this country with the D. of W. the Minister of it. What answer will the Duke give when the French Government follow the example that we set them of requiring them to send away the claimant of our Crown? But there is no end of writing on this fearful subject, and we shall have time enough to talk it over in the three or four days that I hope to pass with you.

Let me have a line here that I may know whether my proposal suits you.

Yours ever most affectionately,

THOS. GRENVILLE.

P.S.—My brother is as usual.

7 P.M.—It is not till this moment that Lady G. has told me of your attack and of C.'s satisfactory answer to her inquiry. I rejoice much in seeing that you are so well reported of, and as I hope you have left your room, I will certainly come on Saturday, unless I hear from you to the contrary.

It will be seen from the foregoing, that the writer still laboured under apprehensions that the hospitality extended to the ex-King of France would be considered by his revolted subjects as a *casus belli*. This was, however, a needless alarm. The Duke of Orleans had profited by the same hospitality, and was not likely to recommend France to go to war with such a country as England, because it had once more become an asylum for a French Sovereign.

Public meetings continued to be held in various

parts of England, to express sympathy with the French people. One was held in the Metropolis, at the City of London Tavern, Henry Warburton, Esq., M.P., in the chair; at another, held the next day at the Freemasons' Tavern, Sir Francis Burdett presided. Tri-coloured ribbons or cockades were worn by some of the persons present, and the sentiments expressed were equally expressive of revolutionary principles. Liverpool, Manchester, and Edinburgh, followed the example thus set them, and at all the meetings an appeal was made on behalf of the widows and orphans that had been made during the contest, by the deaths of those who had fallen on the popular side—the families impoverished by the loss of the fathers who had been slain in defence of their Sovereign were completely ignored.

While much praise was spoken in favour of popular demonstrations, a good deal of abuse was lavished on the expenses of royalty. The Treasurer of the Royal Household became anxious to restrain the expenditure of the Lord Steward's department as much as possible. The Government readily listened to the cry for economy, and were evidently meditating some measure of retrenchment.

RIGHT HON. SIR W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Aug. 26, 1830.

My dear Duke,

I hope you are better. The King has frequently inquired after you, and regretted very much the cause of your absence.

The entertainments which continue, and are likely to do so, naturally engage our attention with regard to expense, and most particularly so from the hints which we receive from Government in the late correspondence from the Treasury, which you have seen. It is clear that the Treasury is preparing a statement of the Civil List for the meeting of Parliament, and in your return of the state of the Lord Steward's department I am extremely anxious, and have urged this on Watson and Marable, that the fullest possible explanation should be made by the Lord Steward in his return—that is, an explanation not only of the denomination of the individual's office and salary, but of the duties he performs, wherever such duties may be questionable. With this view I have directed Marable,[1] before he sends the return to you for approbation, to insert opposite the head called "Compensation allowances to officers who have no duties to perform," and which in the aggregate amounts to a sum of £1767, to state the name of the individual, when the allowance was granted, for what services, and what is his or her present situation; also in every other part of the return to enter into as much detail for the purpose of giving information as can well be done.

I have also desired that Watson[2] would prepare a letter for your consideration to accompany this return, stating

[1] He held at this time the post of clerk of the kitchen.

[2] Sir Frederick Watson, an officer of the household.

our opinion as to the expenses naturally devolving on your department, what prospect we have of future expenses, judging and stating the grounds of judgment from expenses incurred since the accession of his present Majesty. All this I submit to you as absolutely necessary, first, for your character and that of the Board, and next, in fairness towards the Government who will have to fight the battle, and therefore must be fully and completely seconded and supported by us. As far as we can at present see to expenses incurred, it really appears (and we have examined, that is, Watson and myself, every possible charge) that in the first month of this reign, notwithstanding all the dinners and entertainments, that our expenditure has not been equal to that of the corresponding month of last year. In truth, dinners are not the most alarming of expenses, provided we can but maintain some degree of honesty in the servants and purveyors; and as yet we have no reason to distrust our new men, most particularly Macfarlane.

We shall transmit you a minute for your consideration, which we think advisable, on the subject of fees received in the Lord Steward's department on warrants granted on the appointment of servants, as in distinction to warrants granted to tradesmen.

Having said all this on our office affairs, I add a few lines on the state of the Government, and on the horrible events occurring in France, and which daily assume a more alarming aspect. Our elections terminated, although they afford a better, or I should say an increased support in point of numbers to the Government, afford but very little prospect of amendment in the character or power of the Ministry. Whatever overtures have been made have failed, and it is clear there is no strength or weight in

their favour in the country. Those candidates who stood on the support of Government found no advantage from it, but on the contrary were invariably obliged to abandon such ground for the ground of reform and economy, and are committed in almost every instance to conditional engagement on these points. The great hope of the Government rests on the violent and inflammatory manner in which the Radical Whigs are urging on the cry of the French revolutionists, and the excess to which these latter are pursuing their object. This may once more rouse the alarm of the more moderate Whigs and Ultra Tories, and so induce them for their own security to rally round the Government; but even under these circumstances it is a very different House of Commons and very different leaders from what existed in the time of Pitt.

I hear the Allied Powers have formed, or are forming, a new treaty, binding themselves to perfect neutrality with regard to the internal state of France, acknowledging the new King, but uniting in general defence and attack, in case of aggression on the part of France to any one of these united Powers. One can hardly see the possibility of France going on in the hands, as she now appears to be, of a few violent Republicans without aggression on other Powers very shortly taking place. Nothing can be more subdued than the tone and policy of our Ministry, and this cannot afford surprise. Adieu, my dear Duke. I hope this will find you better.

Very faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

The Government, as Sir William Fremantle states, lost ground by the election. On the popular interest Mr. Brougham was elected on the 5th of

August for the county of York; Mr. Joseph Hume was returned for Middlesex; Liverpool re-elected Mr. Huskisson and General Gascoyne; and in many of the leading constituencies the same hostility to the Ministers was displayed. Three members of the family of Sir Robert Peel, as well as Mr. John Wilson Croker, lost their elections. The Duke of Wellington became an object of hustings declamation; and to excite the ill-will of the multitude it was confidently declared that he had exercised his influence with Charles X. to obtain the post of Prime Minister for Prince Polignac; and that if the Duke had not suggested the policy that had followed his appointment, he had approved of it. There was not the slightest ground for such a statement, but it answered the purpose for which it had been made.

The next communication is from a nobleman of the highest character, who had filled several diplomatic appointments of the first class with acknowledged ability, but being one of the most distinguished members of the political party it was the object of their opponents to put down, that they might attain influence at their expense, he became obnoxious to popular censure. He published several works that were favourably received, particularly a narrative of the War in the Peninsula, during which he held a high cavalry command, and another of the Campaigns in the North of Europe, where he also filled an important post, and in both these

positions displayed remarkable diplomatic and military talent. He held a large property in Durham, where his spirit of enterprise had effected important improvements, of which the construction of the town and harbour of Seaham deserves especial notice. He also possessed large and valuable estates in the north of Ireland, inherited from his brother, the late marquis, better known as Lord Castlereagh, and in both countries was highly popular as a landlord.[1]

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Mount Stewart, August 28, 1830.

I regret very sincerely, my dear Duke, that that cursed enemy the gout has attacked you since we parted. I believe want of constant exercise in the air, and anxiety of mind, lead to most diseases of the stomach and frame. The last few weeks in London produced the causes which attack all men, as life advances. I hope you will soon be enabled to send me better accounts of yourself, which I shall look for with much anxiety.

I contemplate (as you do) the events in France with great dismay, and the wisest politician can little foresee what may grow out of the unsettled state of affairs in which Europe by these events is plunged. The case stands differently now from the former Revolution. A

[1] Lord Londonderry subsequently wrote an able pamphlet in reply to an attack on Lord Castlereagh, published by Lord Brougham, and edited the official correspondence of his brother, in twelve volumes, from the originals in his possession. At his own expense he procured a statue carved in marble, by John Evan Thomas, F.S.A., of Lord Castlereagh, to be placed over his grave in Westminster Abbey.

change of dynasty does not endanger neighbouring States like the cry of Liberty, Equality, or Death; and all order or capability of fulfilling the relations of amity and peace towards England is not yet annihilated, although I admit there are such prognostics in the elements that I tremble for what may ensue. The alterations in the Charter are fearful. The new King of the French is curtailed of *all* power. There seems no religion, and a Garde Nationale, who appoint their own officers, will place *France virtually* under a republican code with the effigy of a King. Still, with *that effigy* we must go on, for we have ourselves largely of late embraced that course which makes any other impossible. We cannot fight in 1830 to replace a Bourbon on the throne, as England did in 1814. That day is past. I would rather not enter into my view of all that has changed our political system, nor whether it could have been avoided.

Mr. Canning's policy opened the ball of our new code, and whether we have continued in that track or done what we could to uphold those solid principles which saved the country and placed us on a pinnacle to direct the Continent, it moots not now to argue. The question is, How will the King's Government now go on, and upon what system will they proceed?

I do not think there is any difference in their *dramatis personæ*, nor much in their additional strength since we talked together and since you took office; and I know what your opinions were at that time.

I am free to admit the state of France, the dread of the revolutionary spirit that is abroad, the success of Radical Reformers and economists in the elections, will make many who have the feelings (that I have) pause in their course, and POSSIBLY ACT VERY

DIFFERENTLY from what they would have done had these unaccountable events not ensued. But after all, what is the Duke of Orleans' conduct but what you see every day introduced now in England amongst dearest friends and closest connexions? Every one seems alone to look to *himself*, and I can no more condemn Louis Philippe I. than many who from similar shades of proceeding bask in the sunshine of our royal and ministerial favour.

Alas, my dear Duke, it is very difficult under all that has occurred to know how to act; and humble individual as I am, I cannot bear that any friend should make such an appeal as you do to me in vain. You judge *all* my sentiments and every feeling of my mind correctly; but I am not free from the faults of human nature, and when during near three years I have been totally neglected by that *one* man whom you so justly eulogize for his former deeds—a man whom I would have died to serve—it is not in me to be passive; and when cast off by an old friend, and by one who from years and services should have known me (and who when out of office publicly in Durham so often eulogized my means and energies), it is more than romantic not to be mortified, and that feeling, in spite of my best efforts, produces *éloignement*.

To be candid, all men and all parties act now-a-days as they are *appreciated*, because if party barriers are thrown down and intimacies go for nought, public men who run the career of ambition, power, and place, endeavour to arrive at the goal, whoever may be Minister; when in simple truth, such has been the amalgamation, that there is no reason to believe Lord Grey or any other man would not uphold *order*, *legitimacy*, and the aristocracy as well as the present Government have done, who have, in my mind, alas! yielded far too much to liberality, reform,

and *Hume's supremacy*. To resume, however, this long prose, I can only say that, if I saw that disposition to put any value upon me which I think from a thousand circumstances I have a just claim to, every private affection leads me to the D. of W., although my feeble nature does not allow me to brook with neglect, and see favours on others which I know and feel I have as equally deserved.

I am happy to tell you our Down election is over to-day, and my son is triumphant, and our position has enabled us to bring in Lord Arthur Hill. Let me hear from you, my dear Duke. I conclude from all the papers the Duke of Cambridge has the Blues.

Lord Londonderry, in his reference to the Duke of Wellington, expresses the natural feelings of a man of that high sense of honour his lordship was known to possess; but it seems as though he had found some difficulty in understanding the change in his position which had been produced by the death of his eminent brother. While the Foreign Secretary was the most influential member of the Cabinet, Lord Stewart was sure to be regarded by the Duke as the nearest relative of a statesman to whom he must have felt he owed important obligations; but the Duke, the head of a subsequent Government, and Lord Castlereagh and his influence removed entirely from the scene, Lord Londonderry, possessed only of his talents and parliamentary influence, would be weighed in a balance that admitted of very little bias either from friendship or

gratitude. In high places as in low, what promises to be most advantageous is sure to be considered most desirable. Possibly the Minister may have thought that he could not afford in such critical times to identify his policy with the views of which his friend was considered the advocate. He may even then have been anxious to carry forward liberal measures, if they could be done with safety; for though the Duke expressed himself forcibly against the violent political changes contemplated by Reformers, his ministerial antecedents afforded grounds for supposing that, should the necessity of any important change be brought under his consideration, he would surrender his own opinions, and forward the desired policy with all his party influence and individual energy of character. The care with which he systematically held himself aloof as much as possible from that section of the Conservatives known as the "Ultras," suggests the inference that he kept in view a contingency by which he could not have profited had he again formed a connexion with those who had separated themselves from his Government when he brought forward the measure for the emancipation of the Catholics. The reader, from subsequent communications, will be enabled to come to his own conclusions on this point.

We must now, however, direct his attention to other arrangements, by means of the following communication from a meritorious public servant,

whose diplomatic services he considered entitled him to advancement. Whatever may be thought of his claims to promotion, his manly avowal of obligation indicates his readiness to acknowledge the influence to which he owed his present honourable position. We regret to have to state that such instances of gratitude were rare, the avowal being generally in anticipation, not in acknowledgment, of favour.

SIR HENRY W. WILLIAMS WYNN TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Copenhagen, Aug. 23.

My dear Duke,

I ought before now to have congratulated you on your new appointment, which gave me great pleasure; but what has given me still more is that, as far as I can judge from your frequent attendance, you appear to have *stood* the work very well.

In consequence of Taylor's having informed me that it was his intention to give up Berlin, I applied some weeks ago to Lord Aberdeen for that mission. I have not yet received any answer from him, but I cannot be surprised at it when I consider that in the meantime all the recent events have occurred in France, which must have pretty well occupied both the mind and fingers of our chief. Though I was well aware that you would kindly assist me in this, or any other object I had in view, I did not apply to you, as I thought that a standing of thirty-two years, which made me the *oldest* minister now employed, gave me a fair claim for promotion independent of all interest, and the more so as Lord Aberdeen himself admitted it when I last saw him previous to my leaving England.

I will not now trespass on your kindness to back my application; but as you have probably frequent opportunities of seeing Lord Aberdeen, you would perhaps have the goodness in conversation to ask him how he feels disposed towards me, and how far his engagements allow him to meet my wishes. Previous to my leaving England it was generally believed that the embassy to Brussels was to be reduced to a mission, and with this idea I mentioned to Lord A. how much I should wish to go there. He neither *accepted nor rejected* me, but merely said that nothing was yet finally settled respecting the new diplomatic arrangements. As Berlin is not an agreeable residence, and as the increased salary by no means covers the difference of expenses, I should make a sacrifice both of comfort and pocket in going there. Still as it is a step, it is my duty to endeavour to obtain it. I should be too happy to be allowed to remain here with a promise of Brussels whenever it is vacant. I will no longer bore you with my present concerns, and will only repeat what I have great pleasure always in doing—my gratitude for your kindness, to which I owe the situation where I now am, and from whence, were I only to consult my own personal comfort, I should not wish to move.

Was there ever anything in history to be compared to the rapidity and order of the late revolution in France? I did not give a French mob credit for having learnt so much from the experience of their fathers. It is a much more severe blow to the cause of kings, as in the late revolution there can be scarcely two opinions as to the side on which the *right* is. I understand that the German universities are already beginning to pluck up their heads, and having their Polytechnic Allies under their lee, they will not be so easily kept down as heretofore. If the

Portuguese do not take this opportunity to get rid of Miguel, they are more despicable than I ever take them to be.

I am terribly rheumatic, and you will have almost as much difficulty in reading this scrawl as I have in writing it.

Believe me, my dear Duke,
Ever yours affectionately,
H. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.

Affairs of great importance were daily pressing on the Duke of Buckingham's attention, among which must be classed the contemplated arrangements for a reform in his department of the royal household.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Sept. 6, 1830.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I sincerely hope this will find you better, and grieve to find you have been so very seriously ill. I had flattered myself it was only an attack of gout, which God knows must be bad enough; but I find it was accompanied by much more serious and painful symptoms than you have ever suffered under from former attacks. I hope the papers tell truth when they announce you much better, and shall feel delighted if you can employ any one to confirm it to me.

I will not trouble you with business, but will merely say that I was in town yesterday to meet Watson, when two letters were framed as copies to be sent to Stowe for your consideration, in answer to the two which were received from the Treasury, and which you have seen. The

detailed state of the Lord Steward's department is also nearly completed, to accompany one of these letters, and which will be submitted to you for your previous consideration and correction if found necessary.

I will say no more at present, though I shall have occasion to do so on these points when you are better.

Believe me, my dear Duke,
Always very faithfully yours,
W. H. FREMANTLE.

All went on favourably in Paris. There was not the slightest chance of the French people taking umbrage at the hospitality which England had extended to their dethroned Sovereign. Louis Philippe was not only promptly acknowledged as "King of the French" by the Government of the Duke of Wellington, but our Ambassador, Lord Stuart de Rothsay, had publicly proceeded on the first of September from his hotel to the King's Palace, accompanied by his secretaries, with as much state as could be assumed for the occasion.

As England took the lead of the European Governments in this recognition, it was regarded by the new monarch and his subjects with equal gratification; and the praise that had been bestowed upon the heroes in the struggle, was as gratefully received as the money that had been subscribed for its victims. To show the *entente cordiale* that was now generally cultivated, a grand banquet was given by the Prefect and Municipality of the Capital at

the *Maison de Ville*, at which General Lafayette and other celebrated leaders in the recent revolution attended. Dr. Bowring, who had been the bearer of an English address from a London meeting, and such Englishmen as happened then to be in Paris, were invited. Everything was there said and done that could increase the harmony existing between the two nations. A similar banquet was given by the first legion, and one of the toasts was, "The English nation—thanks for their generous exertions, and peace and union with them for ever."

Louis Philippe was in the honeymoon of his political union with the French people. Everything appeared to have prospered with him. There seemed perpetual sunshine on his path within his own territories, and beyond them the atmosphere was undisturbed by a single cloud—that is to say, as far as his horizon extended. Clear, however, as seemed the sky, it was "the uncertain glory of an April day." The air was charged with electricity, and the clouds clearing off from the scene of the late tempest, were scudding along in different directions, lowering ominously over the neighbouring states. This, however, was no concern of the King of the French; probably was a source of secret satisfaction, as in whatever country the storm broke, it could not influence his position, while it would afford employment to its rulers that would prevent them in any way interfering with him.

Halcyon days these were to the King of the

French, and he made the most of them. In the affluence of his gratification he forget the past. But what could there be in the crown that had been worn by Napoleon, to remind him of his once humble office of usher in a school? In the fulness of his content he thought not of the future. But where amid the homage of the great French Empire, was he to see the image of the fugitive "Mr. Smith?"

CHAPTER III.

[1 8 3 0.]

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE—THEIR EFFECT IN ENGLAND —THE COLONELCY OF THE HORSE GUARDS—OPENING OF THE BIRMINGHAM RAILWAY—TERRIBLE DEATH OF MR. HUSKISSON— HIS POLITICAL CAREER—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON—DISAPPOINTMENT OF THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY—WILLIAM IV. AND HIS GUESTS—ARRANGEMENTS OF THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD—AGRARIAN DISTURBANCES IN KENT—AGITATION FOR REPEAL OF THE UNION IN IRELAND.

CHAPTER III.

It was a saying of the First Napoleon, that a revolution in France was a revolution in Europe; and so it proved on this occasion. As the news of the grand democratic triumph spread to other nations it created a circle of agitation that threatened to extend to all the continental monarchies. The first attempt at imitation occurred in Belgium. All the principal towns partook of the movement, which commenced at Brussels, where a Burgher Guard shortly displaced the troops of the King of the Netherlands. A conflict ensued, the Royal Guards were defeated, and notwithstanding the personal exertions of the Prince of Orange to reconcile the Flemish people to the rule of his dynasty, a separation of Belgium from Holland was insisted on. Alarming riots broke out in several places; the people appealed to arms wherever they could get possession of them; and the most bitter feeling of animosity was created between the Flemish and Dutch.

About the same period another revolutionary outbreak commenced at Brunswick, whence the reigning

Duke, after a fierce contest with the citizens, was obliged to fly for his life, his troops having been defeated and his castle set on fire. At Dresden the populace rose and drove the military out of the town, and the King of Saxony was obliged to resign his crown, which descended to his nephew, Prince Frederick, after his father had renounced his right of succession in his favour. Disturbances of a similar nature broke out at Hesse Cassel, Chemnitz, Berlin, Hamburgh, Hesse Darmstadt, and other large towns; indeed, the revolutionary wave was spreading rapidly over the German Continent; while in the Peninsula there was so much excitement that a repetition of the Paris revolution was daily expected both in Madrid and Lisbon.

In England the enthusiasm for the "Three Glorious Days" had not abated; indeed, the most strenuous efforts were made by a certain class of political partisans to maintain it, to advance their own objects; but thoughtful persons observed the state of the Continent with alarm; and a closer union was being established among those who had most to lose and nothing to gain by similar occurrences in this country.

The Duke of Wellington appears to have become aware of the Marquis of Londonderry's sense of neglect; and the Duke of Buckingham, who was always ready to exercise any political influence he might possess for the benefit of his friends, and particularly for one to whom he was sincerely

attached, endeavoured to bring about a better understanding between the latter and the Prime Minister than had existed for some years. Lord Londonderry, who had distinguished himself as a dashing cavalry officer previously to his diplomatic career, like other officers of his standing holding the same rank in the service, naturally much desired the colonelcy of one of the cavalry regiments of the Household Brigade. It is probable that he had already mentioned his wishes to the Duke of Buckingham; but in the following communication he expresses himself on the subject without the slightest attempt at reserve.

It should be borne in mind that the military services of the Marquis when with the allied army in the north of Europe, during the construction of that grand combination that forced Napoleon back to his own dominions, and subsequently to his little sovereignty at Elba, were most important. There is no doubt that his personal influence kept Bernadotte faithful when his proceedings had become tainted with suspicion. He had also exhibited extraordinary tact and firmness during the difficult negotiations at Chatillon that the representatives of the Allies had carried on with Caulaincourt, while his Imperial master was standing at bay with his pursuers within his own frontiers.

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Mount Stewart, Sept. 14, 1830.

My dear Duke,

Not having heard from you for some time, and seeing a report in the papers of your having been ill, I am very desirous of hearing from yourself a good account of your convalescence.

I received to-day the enclosed note[1] from the member for New Romney. I know not what credit to give to this rumour; but it seems strange to me that so long a period has elapsed without anything having been determined on with respect to this very high military distinction.

I own, when I contemplate all that has occurred lately in France, and what seems to be progressing at home, my natural feelings and never-swerving principles would lead me more distinctly than ever to give support to any regular existing Government protected by the King; and it has occurred to me, my dear Duke, from your perfect knowledge of these my principles and the party I can influence, that you might have an opportunity of stating this to the Duke in a manner that could not look like unnecessarily throwing myself at his head with a view to the object which I do not deny to you would be highly gratifying to me, but which would give an earnest of my principles in times of pressing necessity; and I cannot but flatter myself you would be disposed to support me in a military object of such great gratification, more especially as, when I recollect what passed previous to our leaving London, I believe there would be facilities in the highest quarter if the Duke was really affectionately disposed towards me.

[1] Not preserved.

I conceive you could by letter, even if you did not see the Duke, very naturally manage this business, and I feel satisfied, from the long interval that has elapsed, that the arrangements are not concluded with regard to the regiment; and it possibly may have been doubted what line in any event I should be inclined to take, but which late events have of themselves, with consistency to principles, much needed.

Pray let me hear on this subject as soon as possible, and believe me,

Ever yours most sincerely,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

A terrible disaster marked the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. This important work having been completed, the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Huskisson, and other eminent public characters, were invited to witness the opening of the line for traffic. They went in different carriages from Liverpool, but the train stopping for fuel at Parkfield, they alighted; and Mr. William Holmes, M.P., thinking this a good opportunity for bringing the estranged Ministers once more in friendly connexion, led Mr. Huskisson towards the Duke, who, immediately he perceived his approach, held out his hand, and gave his old colleague a most cordial reception. One of the engines now advancing amid a general cry of "Get in!" seems to have confused Mr. Huskisson: before he could get to a place of safety he was knocked down, and the engine passed over his

thigh, lacerating the limb so much that he died in a few hours.

The right honourable gentleman whose public services were thus terminated, appears to have commenced his political career at Paris in the height of the first Revolution. He was not only present at the taking of the Bastile, but at a sitting of the Jacobin Club, in company with Mr. Windham, Lord Chichester, and Sir John Thomas Stanley, of Cheshire.[1] It has been stated that at the Club he made a speech, and identified himself with the principles then and there avowed, but this he subsequently denied; and as he shortly afterwards accepted the post of Private Secretary to the English Ambassador at Paris (Lord Gower), it is likely that his republicanism, if thus exhibited, was not very genuine. He returned to England in 1792, soon after which he accepted employment from Mr. Dundas, and in 1795 succeeded Sir Evan Nepean as Under-Secretary of State. At the general election in the following year he was returned to Parliament for Morpeth.

Like his father, who farmed on a large scale, Mr. Huskisson was fond of agricultural pursuits; and in the year 1800, having purchased of Hayley, the biographer of Cowper, an estate of three hundred acres, at Eartham, near Chichester, in Sussex, he devoted himself to its improvement, living here with his wife, the youngest daughter of Admiral

[1] "Gentleman's Magazine," c. 366.

Milbank, whom he had married the preceding year. He lost his post when Mr. Pitt retired from the Government in 1801, but obtained a pension of £1200 a-year, which made his position easy for life.

Another general election occurred in the following year; but after an unsuccessful contest for Dover he remained out of Parliament till the year 1804, when, there having been a double return, he was declared by a Parliamentary Committee the sitting member for the borough of Liskeard. On the same day (May 15) Mr. Pitt returned to political power, and appointed him one of the Secretaries of the Treasury. He was re-elected for Liskeard in 1806, but went into Opposition when Mr. Fox joined the Administration. Under Mr. Perceval he accepted the same post, and was returned for Harwich in 1807, but two years later retired with Mr. Canning. He was returned for Chichester in the years 1812, 1818, and 1820, during which period the emoluments of office increased considerably. In 1812 he became colonial agent for Ceylon, with £4000 a-year; and two years subsequently was sworn of the Privy Council, when he received the appointment of Commissioner of the Woods and Forests.

From this time he took a prominent part in every important discussion, and succeeded Mr. Canning as representative of Liverpool in 1822. In the following January he became Treasurer of the Navy, and a few months later President of the Board of Trade. On the formation of Lord Gode-

rich's Administration, after the death of Mr. Canning, he accepted the office of Colonial Secretary, in which post he was retained by the Duke of Wellington. He had had a misunderstanding with Lord Goderich, but his successor proved a much more difficult superior; and the prompt manner in which Mr. Huskisson's too hasty resignation in the year 1828 was accepted by the Duke, must have been to the former anything but gratifying.

Mr. Huskisson had come before the public as an author; but it was a contribution to politics rather than to literature, for it was with a pamphlet on the Bullion Question, published in the year 1810, with the title, "The Question concerning the Depreciation of our Currency stated and examined."

Having been born on the 11th of March, 1770, he was in his sixty-first year at the time of his melancholy death. Its awful suddenness excited general sympathy, and his funeral at Liverpool was attended by nearly twenty thousand persons. Among the mourners were the Mayor of Liverpool (Sir G. Drinkwater), Lords Stanley, Gower, Granville, Colvill, and Sandon; Sir Stratford Canning, Sir John Tobin, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Stanley, M.P., Mr. Patten, M.P., Mr. Denison, Mr. Doherty, Mr. Littleton, M.P., Mr. Greene, M.P., and Mr. Booth Wilbraham.

Many persons of opposite politics were, like Lord Grenville, sensibly affected by this startling incident, and a public subscription for a monument to

Mr. Huskisson's memory was promptly commenced. Of the liberal party he deserved especial remembrance, as one of the earliest advocates of free trade. He was sensible and lucid in his parliamentary speeches, but never ranked as an orator of the first class.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Sept. 21, 1830.

You will have heard from Lady G. that the swans arrived here in excellent condition, and are thought very ornamental.

They made some efforts in their first two or three days here to *walk* away from us, for *fly* they could not; but a little corn thrown to them seems to have reconciled them to their quarters. I was so ignorant as to imagine that they fed on fish, with which all my little washhand-basins of ponds are not *stocked* but *crowded;* but I am now told they must be fed with corn. Do you feed yours at Stowe and Avington?

What a dreadful accident at Liverpool! I had been forming hopes that strength was preparing in that quarter for those by whom it is so much wanted. I grieve to see how very unsuccessfully the elections have turned out; and I know from but too good authority, that whatever face they put on the matter, they do not disguise this fact among themselves.

We had not more want at the beginning of the last French Revolution to augment and consolidate the force of *all* friends of quiet and good order, of whatever description. I should rather say we had not then near so great want to do what we so wisely and fortunately did in that

way, as exists in the present state of things, whether we look at France, Europe, or England. I would to God I could see any symptoms of a similar disposition now either to call for such co-operation or to yield it. Yet it would be the true wisdom of both so to act.

My anticipations are of the most gloomy sort. How much do I wish and pray that I may be deceived!

Lord Grenville did not stand alone in his prognostications of evil; indeed, the aspect of the times was so menacing, that the most sagacious statesmen of the age could not refrain from expressing their alarm. The spectacle which the continental Governments presented excited to renewed activity in England those professed advocates of republicanism who had hitherto been content with an obscure field for the display of their sentiments. They now emerged from their retreats, and proclaimed their theories wherever they could gain an audience, and as the madness of the moment affected both the middle and lower classes, they constantly gained increasing influence and importance.

It is evident from the following, that the Duke of Wellington had been communicated with in respect to Lord Londonderry's aspirations. This appears to have been partly through the Duke of Buckingham, and partly by means of a subsequent personal interview with the Marquis's eldest son, Viscount Castlereagh.[1] The result evidently was

[1] Present Marquis of Londonderry.

not entirely satisfactory. The Duke's position at this time was critical, and he knew it; and he was too sagacious a Minister to venture upon any act that might be open to misconstruction. Every proceeding of his Government was watched with the most jealous scrutiny, and although Lord Londonderry's claims to his consideration no one could have appreciated more highly than himself, he appears to have dreaded the hostile remarks the bestowal of such a mark of favour might have elicited.

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Ravensworth Castle, Oct. 18th, 1830.

My dear Duke,

I did not keep my son ignorant of my position, &c. I thought he might possibly discover the Duke's intentions. I send you his letter of this morning, which pray return. I fear his view has been better than mine on this question; and it of course adds to my annoyance and mortification. But as you kindly undertook the communication, I do not like to keep you in ignorance of how it bears upon my nearest connexion. I think the Duke, even if Murray is to succeed Hill, would hardly give the latter a cavalry regiment; he having so recently received from the Crown the best military government going—Plymouth.

What is then to be done with the Blues?

Ever yours most sincerely and gratefully,

Vane Londonderry.

The enclosure alluded to at the commencement of the following letter, like that in the preceding, was of course returned; but no doubt can remain as to its nature and general contents, after a perusal of Lord Londonderry's comments upon it. The Duke of Wellington must have written under a conviction that his tenure of office was drawing to a conclusion, and such conviction probably exaggerated the opinions his Grace was obliged to express. It is evident that the disappointment he created was very great.

The Minister had taken a statesmanlike view of his position, and thought it most prudent to defer for the present gratifying his old and faithful supporter; but there is reason to suppose that he did not intend a total refusal. There were many persons of considerable influence who were ready to endorse Lord Londonderry's sentiments respecting the Duke of Wellington's domestic policy, but were not likely to divert him from it.

MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Ravensworth Castle, Oct. 17th, 1830.

My dear Duke,

I am sure you will admit that the letter you have enclosed can neither convey comfort nor gratification to my mind; and your friendly feeling for me will lament that candour and openness has been met with coldness and reproaches as to the past, and with no shades of hope as

to the future. There is not so much as a glimmering of kind returning sentiment towards me throughout his Grace's epistle, and it seems rather to have been written with a desire to preserve the *éloignement*, than with any wish to gratify or meet my objects; and while the support and assistance is received, it is attributed entirely to your kindness and good offices.

That you have been most friendly to me, my sincere gratitude will ever express; but conversant as you must be in political negotiations, you will at once see that your friend, whom you tried to protect and serve, has *been completely floored*; and as to my ulterior objects finding their own level, I do not think, my dear Duke, with *this letter* before me, there is much prospect of such a consummation.

Place yourself in my predicament, and I ask your impartial judgment whether you would not be much more bitterly mortified at the unnecessary harshness that has been exhibited in the letter, than under all former occurrences; nor can I discover the good policy of converting a cordial friend and supporter into a more unwilling follower.

For what purpose does his Grace (while he refrains from entering into topics in detail) conclude by a general *resumé*, "that I have forgotten my situation and antecedent circumstances," (on which, by-the-bye, I can reason very differently from him); and, wherefore a lecture that "a Minister is not placed in a situation only to please himself and his friends?" When I contemplate the list of the H* * * s, C * * * * * * * * * s, B * * * * * * * * s, M * * * * * s, J * * * * * s, &c. &c., I ask myself, with this portrait, if the Duke's communication is not mere mockery? For without vanity, I could have been as good

a friend to the King's Government as *some* of these. I know I am indebted to you for the perusal of this letter; I therefore comment on it freely and without reserve, and although all your kindness (I fear) will never do me good, still I am quite sure I shall always be safe in your hands. But if the D. of W. believes that this course towards me will insure cordial supporters, I think he must little know the ordinary bent of human minds. We are none of us so entirely disinterested as *he* may be, nor devoid of ambition as *one* who has grasped every worldly glory. Nor are we without followers and adherents who look up to us. It is for these I combat, and these will not brook our being neglected and passed by. Under present circumstances, how I may succeed in influencing my friends, is very problematical and remains to be tried, for these feel for me, and have openly and warmly expressed it; and it is fair also to add that, in the long run, my mind must be affected by such a seeming abandonment of generous proceeding and kind disposition towards me, for it would have been more noble and less diplomatic towards you in the first instance, if the D. of W. had manly avowed, "If the Blues are Lord L.'s object, he cannot have them;" as to have left the principal and his friend entirely in the dark until all was gained.

Your advice as to pressing the King personally (from what you formerly gave me reason to know) would be of little avail, for H. M. is not, I apprehend, permitted to follow his own disposition. I hope, in conclusion, the D. of W. is not steering a course which will form many of the aristocracy into a party of King's friends; and should his Grace as Minister be defeated, I doubt whether many followers will make common cause with him, if he

tends such encouragement to old friends as I have just experienced at his hands.

Believe me ever, my dear Duke,

Yours most sincerely,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

My present intention is to be up by the 1st, the day, I presume, of the address.

The chief gratification of the King was playing the hospitable host, and in this his Majesty indulged so liberally, that he entertained on an average two thousand persons a week. He was delighted if he could find out a former messmate, or naval officer with whom he had formed an acquaintance during his professional career. The latter was sure to be made welcome at the palace. Every admiral in the service was equally certain of finding a place at the royal table; indeed the uniform had only to have been worn with credit to be accepted as a Court suit quite as readily as the established costume. Sometimes it seemed difficult to say which was the royal livery, true blue or scarlet. One thing at least was certain, the combination of these colours added considerably to the picturesque effect of the grouping. These social reunions were remarkable in other respects; a nautical freedom prevailed which often gave a peculiar heartiness to the conversation, though strict etiquette was not unfrequently entirely lost sight of.

The good-natured Sovereign was constantly be-

sieged for favours which he sometimes found it as difficult to grant as to refuse. His Majesty related to a select circle after dinner the manner in which he had recently been persecuted by a persevering applicant, and said, evidently with a feeling of relief, "I got rid of him. I made him a Knight of the Hanoverian Guelphic Order."

"Served him right!" exclaimed an Admiral famous for his conversational escapades. The laugh was general.

RIGHT HON. SIR W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Brunswick Terrace, Brighton, Oct. 20, 1830.

MY DEAR DUKE,

The King leaves this for St. James's on Monday next, and he has sent this day an order to Marable to send out cards on Monday for a dinner on the 30th January, to his Ministers, heads of departments, &c. &c., altogether forty-seven, probably it will fill to upwards of fifty. I have ordered the list to be sent to you immediately.

Their Majesties go to the play Thursday, the 28th (Drury Lane). The King gives a second large dinner to foreign ministers on the 4th. A third dinner for the Royal Family, the Queen, &c. &c. These are the only three great dinners; the 9th of November, the great City day; the day is not named for Covent Garden.

This is all that is at present projected, of course including the House of Lords; and his Majesty and family return here on the 13th.

You are now in possession of all I know. His Majesty has frequently asked after you, and I informed him you

would be in town at the same time that his Majesty came. He is really extremely well, excepting complaining and suffering from gout in his head. The table here is seldom less than forty, and altogether we feed nearly two thousand a week; but notwithstanding, I have the pleasure of saying —and I think you may rely on the assurance, as I have seen all the detailed accounts up to 10th Oct.—that the quarter is under the estimate, and less than the corresponding quarter of last year; in short, that we have not exceeded. This is most valuable as far as concerns Civil List discussions.

I shall be in town on the 26th, when I trust your Grace will satisfy yourself with all the proceedings which have gone on in the department. The servants seem to have done their duty well and honestly.

What is to become of public men? Is it possible the Duke of Wellington can attempt, with such a feeble support, another session at such a moment, and under such appalling prospects? I see no rational being that is not under the deepest alarm.

Ever, my dear Duke, most faithfully yours,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

Watson will speak to you about erasing the name of M****** from being a clerk in the kitchen office. As he is wanted to dine with the King, this is essentially necessary, as he cannot sit down with his kitchen clerk —perhaps it would be advisable to *keep this down* a little, for your own and all our conveniences.

W. H. F.

Lord Londonderry had not quite got over his disappointment. The Duke of Wellington, however, delayed appointing a colonel to the coveted regiment, though it was generally understood to whom it would fall. General Rowland Lord Hill, G.C.B., was an officer very popular and highly distinguished in the service, and had long enjoyed a familiar intimacy with the Minister, under whom he had served through all his campaigns. Such a distinction conferred on Lord Hill was certain of being favourably received, but it did not appear in the "Gazette" for nearly three weeks after the date of Lord Londonderry's communication.[1]

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Seaham Hall, Oct. 26, 1830.

My dear Duke,

I can never be insensible to the friendly interest you have taken in my concerns. It may be true that others can judge of a man's position better than himself. But mortification and disappointment are stubborn things to swallow, after a long series of devotion to one shrine.

I will, however, come up for the address *en garçon;* and I trust his Majesty, who has been ever remarkably gracious to me, will give me an audience; and I hope in times of difficulty for the throne and the country he will

[1] "Nov. 19, Royal Horse Guards, General Rowland Hill, G.C.B., *vice* the Duke of Cumberland, to be Colonel."

find me as dutiful, devoted, and zealous a subject as any he rules over. More it is unnecessary to say till we meet.

Ever, my dear Duke, with the sincerest sentiments of gratitude and affection,

Yours very faithfully,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

To add to the embarrassments of the Minister, there occurred an alarming outbreak of the peasantry of the county of Kent, ostensibly against the use of agricultural machinery. They assembled in large bodies, and visited the farm-buildings of the principal landed proprietors, demolishing the threshing machines there in use. In some instances they set fire to barns and cornstacks. These outrages spread consternation throughout the country, and fears were entertained that they would be repeated in other agricultural districts. A meeting of the magistrates and landed gentry of Kent was held at Canterbury on the 12th of October, the High Sheriff in the chair, when a reward of 100*l.* was offered for the discovery of the perpetrators of the senseless mischief; and the Lords of the Treasury added a further reward of the same amount for their apprehension.

The agricultural interest was in a very depressed state, and the number of unemployed labourers so large, apprehensions were entertained that the combination for the destruction of machinery might, if

not at once checked, take dimensions it would be very difficult for the Government to control.

In Ireland, the prospect was equally alarming. A movement had commenced for the repeal of the legislative Union, under the auspices of Mr. Daniel O'Connell, and a common toast at public meetings was, "The cause of the Belgians; may others [a suggestion to the Irish] imitate their bright example."

Ireland had long been the great ministerial difficulty. A chronic state of disaffection was carefully maintained, to break out with violence on the first favourable opportunity. "The healing measure" for the removal of Catholic disabilities had failed in producing any of the beneficial effects that had been so confidently anticipated, while it established a mischievous precedent for agitation. There existed no real political grievance in Ireland, and the people laboured under no disadvantages for which they were not themselves responsible. Elsewhere they were industrious, thrifty, and obedient to the laws; but among the purely Catholic population, beggary, idleness, and treason, appeared to be the regular production of the soil.

Such a state of things afforded fine scope for the agitator, who found it easy to persuade his countrymen that their poverty was the result of injustice, and to insinuate that they had it in their power to improve their position. "Ireland for the Irish," became the popular cry; and the first step to this

consummation was declared to be a severance of the legislative bond by which, through the wisdom and courage of Lord Castlereagh, Ireland had become an integral part of the United Kingdom. This delusion was made to spread over the country, except in those districts where the inhabitants were of Scottish descent and Presbyterian faith—stigmatized by the demagogues as "the Black North," because there, and there alone, agriculture and manufactures flourished. Ulster could boast of careful landlords and a provident tenantry; therefore political adventurers and political nostrums were there equally disregarded.

CHAPTER IV.

[1830.]

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT — THE KING'S SPEECH — DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS IN THE LORDS — DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS IN THE COMMONS — THE AMENDMENT OF THE MARQUIS OF BLANDFORD — ITS CHARACTER ANALYSED — MR. BROUGHAM AND SIR ROBERT PEEL ON REFORM — WHIG AND RADICAL OBJECTS.

CHAPTER IV.

THE House of Commons about to meet possessed an unusually large proportion of new members; but notwithstanding the popular enthusiasm for the recent French revolution, at least the usual number of persons connected with aristocratic families had been returned. The Government lost some of its supporters; but Mr. Croker, who had been rejected at Dublin University, got a seat by the Duke of Wellington's interest for the borough of Aldborough. Mr. Brougham was returned for two places, Yorkshire and Knaresborough; so was Lord Ebrington for Devonshire and Tavistock. All the Duke of Buckingham's political friends were elected.

But the character of the House may be better understood by an analysis of its elements. Of eighty-two county members only twenty-eight could be relied on as supporters of the Government; forty-seven being in Opposition, and seven uncertain or neutral. Of the thirteen principal cities in the empire, returning twenty-eight members, three only were likely to support the Duke of Wellington, while twenty-four were sure to oppose

my brother. The likeness is admirable, and to me, when I look at it, truly affecting.

If you prefer it, I can send it up to you in town, but I reserved it that I might rather have the pleasure of putting it into your own hands.

I trust you continue free from gout.

The King's speech was as follows:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"It is with great satisfaction that I meet you in Parliament, and that I am enabled, in the present conjuncture, to recur to your advice.

"Since the dissolution of the late Parliament, events of deep interest and importance have occurred on the continent of Europe. The elder branch of the House of Bourbon no longer reigns in France, and the Duke of Orleans has been called to the throne by the title of King of the French. Having received from the new sovereign a declaration of his earnest desire to cultivate the good understanding, and to maintain inviolate all the engagements subsisting with this country, I did not hesitate to continue my diplomatic relations and friendly intercourse with the French Court.

"I have witnessed with deep regret the state of affairs in the Low Countries. I lament that the enlightened administration of the King should not have preserved his dominions from revolt; and that the wise and prudent measure of submitting the desires and the complaints of his people to the deliberations of an Extraordinary Meeting of the States General should have led to no satisfactory result. I am endeavouring, in concert with my allies, to devise such means of restoring tranquillity

as may be compatible with the welfare and good government of the Netherlands, and with the future security of other States.

"Appearances of tumult and disorder have produced uneasiness in different parts of Europe; but the assurances of a friendly disposition, which I continue to receive from all foreign Powers, justify the expectation that I shall be enabled to preserve for my people the blessings of peace. Impressed at all times with the necessity of respecting the faith of national engagements, I am persuaded that my determination to maintain, in conjunction with my allies, those general treaties by which the political system of Europe has been established, will offer the best security for the repose of the world.

"I have not yet accredited my Ambassador to the Court of Lisbon; but the Portuguese Government having determined to perform a great act of justice and humanity by the grant of a general amnesty, I think that the time may shortly arrive when the interests of my subjects will demand a renewal of those relations which had so long existed between the two countries.

"I am impelled, by the deep solicitude which I feel for the welfare of my people, to recommend to your immediate consideration the provisions which it may be advisable to make for the exercise of the royal authority, in case that it should please Almighty God to terminate my life before my successor shall have arrived at years of maturity. I shall be prepared to concur with you in the adoption of those measures which may appear best calculated to maintain unimpaired the stability and dignity of the Crown, and thereby to strengthen the securities by which the civil and religious liberties of my people are guarded.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

"I have ordered the estimates for those services of the present year for which the last Parliament did not fully provide, to be forthwith laid before you. The estimates for the ensuing year will be prepared with that strict regard to economy which I am determined to enforce in every branch of the public expenditure.

"By the demise of my lamented brother, the late King, the Civil List revenue has expired. I place without reserve at your disposal my interest in the hereditary revenues and in those funds which may be derived from any droits of the Crown or Admiralty, from the West India Duties, or from any casual revenues, either in my foreign possessions, or in the United Kingdom. In surrendering to you my interest in revenues which have in former settlements of the Civil List been reserved to the Crown, I rejoice in the opportunity of evincing my entire reliance on your dutiful attachment, and my confidence that you will cheerfully provide all that may be necessary for the support of the civil Government, and the honour and dignity of my Crown.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"I deeply lament that in some districts of the country the property of my subjects has been endangered by combinations for the destruction of machinery, and that serious losses have been sustained through the acts of wicked incendiaries. I cannot view without grief and indignation the efforts which are industriously made to excite among my people a spirit of discontent and disaffection, and to disturb the concord which happily prevails between those parts of my dominions, the union of which is essential to their common strength and common happiness. I am determined to exert to the utmost of

my power all the means which the law and the constitution have placed at my disposal for the punishment of sedition, and for the prompt suppression of outrage and disorder.

"Amidst all the difficulties of the present conjuncture, I reflect with the highest satisfaction on the loyalty and affectionate attachment of the great body of my people. I am confident that they justly appreciate the full advantage of that happy form of Government under which, through the favour of Divine Providence, this country has enjoyed, for a long succession of years, a greater share of internal peace, of commercial prosperity, of true liberty, of all that constitutes social happiness, than has fallen to the lot of any other country of the world. It is the great object of my life to preserve these blessings to my people, and to transmit them unimpaired to posterity; and I am animated in the discharge of the sacred duty which is committed to me, by the firmest reliance on the wisdom of Parliament, and on the cordial support of my faithful and loyal subjects."[1]

The debate on the address that followed, brought out what were considered the salient points of this document. The proposer and seconder in the House of Lords were the Marquis of Bute and Lord Monson, but the speech of the latter was not reported, because it was not heard. After the Lord Chancellor had put the question, the Earl of Winchelsea denied that the incendiary proceedings in Kent were the work of the peasantry; and having dwelt on the poverty of the landowners,

[1] "Hansard's Parliamentary Debates," New Series, i. 7.

stated that the country was going to decay, and asked for an inquiry into the state of the agricultural interest. The Marquis Camden attributed the agrarian disturbances to the evil influence of the recent events that had taken place across the Channel. The Duke of Richmond dwelt on the distress of the agricultural labourers and their alleged disaffection to the Government; adding, that he felt no alarm, knowing that Englishmen possessed too much good sense, devotion to the institutions of their country, and loyalty to their sovereign, to be led away into dangerous errors.

The Earl of Darnley also dwelt on the existing distress, but stated that it was not general. The Duke of Leinster referred to the agitation in Ireland for the Repeal of the Union, and assured the House that, unless the Government adopted some plan for reforming the Grand Jury system, it must make such progress that it would be difficult to deal with it. Lord Farnham stated that the present moment was one of the most important at which a Parliament had met for many years, whether considered with relation to our foreign or domestic policy. He made some strictures on the paragraph in the King's speech respecting Belgium, and described the burdens upon the landed interest as excessive. He expressed himself as decidedly opposed to the Repeal agitation, though he considered the manner in which the Union had been carried as highly objectionable.

The next speaker was Earl Grey, and as his lordship was the acknowledged leader of the Opposition, his speech was regarded as the declaration of his party. He addressed the House at considerable length on all the topics that had previously been touched upon, but in a moderate tone; generally eulogizing the conduct of the Duke of Wellington, and insisting on Catholic Emancipation having been a healing measure in Ireland. He advocated a reduction of taxation, and spoke in commendation of the King's intention to surrender the hereditary revenues of the Crown. Then he considered the prospect of affairs abroad, and the state of our foreign relations, but deprecated any arming of the country, recommending instead a reform in Parliament. He approved of all that had occurred in France, and dwelt with much warmth on what he considered "the noble cause." His lordship then denounced the union of Holland and Belgium, and objected to the reference to Belgium in the address. After some reflections on Don Miguel, Lord Grey ended by acknowledging that he did not intend to offer any opposition to the address.

The Duke of Wellington now rose, and, after commending the tone with which the last speaker had commenced his speech, addressed himself energetically to those portions of it that appeared to call in question the policy of his Government. He expressed with his usual force and lucidity his opinion respecting the recent revolutionary move-

ments on the Continent, and then entered into a consideration of the state of Ireland. On this point he said—

"The House well knew that a vast majority of the people of every class in Ireland had desired to see the Catholics restored to all their civil rights. The House well knew that a great majority of its members, as well as a great majority of the other House, had been equally desirous of effecting that object; it well knew that a great majority of the young and growing intellect of the country had ardently wished for the measure, and would any noble lord now contend that the Government did not stand on firmer and better ground with respect to the Union, than if the Catholic question had not been carried. He therefore really did not see the advantage of repeating against him the reproach of his having given way upon that question from motives of fear. He denied that he had been influenced, even in the slightest degree, by any such motive. He had given way, if it could be termed giving way, solely because the interests of the country required it. He had urged the question upon views of policy and expediency, and of justice; upon these grounds he now justified the measure, and upon these grounds he ever would defend his conduct."

After defending the measures of the Government to conciliate the people of Ireland, the Duke referred to the intimation of the necessity of a parliamentary reform, which Lord Grey had expressed; and he not only stated that he was unprepared with any such measure, but added that he had never read or heard of any measure up to

the present moment which could in any degree satisfy his mind that the state of the representation could be improved, or be rendered more satisfactory to the country at large.[1]

The general effect of this debate appeared to be favourable to the Government; but the same day, in the House of Commons, the intentions of the Opposition were made known to the country by Mr. Brougham announcing a plan of parliamentary reform that he was about to bring forward. Then came the debate on the address, the proposer and seconder being Lord Grimstone and Mr. R. A. Dundas. Lord Althorp followed, stating his belief that the country was not in such a state of discontent as to justify the apprehensions that had been expressed; and though promising a cordial support to such measures of the Government as should meet his approbation, he advocated economy and retrenchment in every department of the public expenditure. Finally, he said the people were convinced that the only effective remedy for existing evils was a reform in Parliament.

The Marquis of Blandford considered the state of the country as calling for legislative attention, and moved the following amendment to the address:—

"In this its first address to the throne of a new King, instead of making itself the mere echo of the Ministers of

[1] "Hansard," i. 51.

the Crown, this House feels that it ought to show itself to be the very mirror of the people, and that to do so it must not fail to lay before your Majesty all their thoughts and feelings, all their wants and wishes, as well as all their loyalty to your office and attachment to your person.

"The discharge of this important duty, and the present serious aspect of public affairs, render it impossible, as well as improper, to address your Majesty otherwise than at considerable length. Your Majesty is to be informed that this House, in common with the great majority of your people, holds the memory of the House of Commons of the last Parliament in utter hatred and contempt, for the following reasons: first, because the last House of Commons uniformly turned a deaf ear to the just complaints and petitions of your people; and, secondly, because, instead of acting upon the old constitutional principle of withholding the supplies until the grievances of the people were redressed, which it was earnestly and seriously urged to do, it seemed to consider itself of no other use, and chosen for no other purpose, but to vote night after night immense sums of money, to be drawn from the pockets of the people, exhibiting at the same time the utmost indifference, and often the most sovereign contempt, of all consideration in what manner such enormous sums could be obtained, without the risk of involving the great productive interests of the country in the most extensive embarrassment and ruin.

"That in proof of this, your Majesty has only to look at the unprecedented numbers of bankruptcies and insolvencies of farmers, traders, and others of your honest and industrious subjects through all the years of the existence of the last House of Commons; and your Majesty will

thereby be convinced, that while great numbers of landed proprietors have been driven from their paternal mansions, and have been compelled to see them occupied by loan-mongers and stock-jobbers, while others have removed themselves, their families, and their fortunes for ever from your shores, and while the middle classes of your subjects have been reduced with frightful rapidity to the labouring class, the labouring class has been reduced to absolute beggary and want; that numbers have actually died from starvation, and others have been obliged to submit to the most degrading services, and to see themselves and their families the victims of fever induced by famine; that thus, in a short time, instead of ruling, like the two first Princes of the House of Brunswick, over a nation devoted to your government by the happiness and blessings it should enjoy, your Majesty may find yourself ruling over a nation of paupers and of placemen—of those who live upon the taxes and the poor-rates on the one hand, and on the other hand of loan-mongers and borough-mongers, wallowing in the stagnant and unproductive accumulations of their joint and several monopolies. Such, Sire, are the effects of the accursed and unnatural funding system in its last agonies, and the vain attempts to save this monster in England are at this moment overturning the governments of other countries far more rapidly than the folly or even the wickedness of their rulers. That the acts of the late House of Commons, both of omission and commission, under which the people of this once happy country have been brought to such a state of wretchedness and suffering, inculpate all concerned in the highest degree of criminality, from which nothing can excuse them but a sincere and contrite confession of their sins and a total and immediate alteration of their conduct,

without which it will be the duty of this House to expose by name to your Majesty all those who are feeding upon the vitals of the country, as the only chance left, since argument has failed, of saving itself, and perhaps even the throne of your Majesty, from the storms of convulsion.

"That in order to have obviated such complicated evils as are hereinbefore set forth, it was the duty of the late House of Commons to have done more and to have talked much less.

"That that House was told, both within these walls and without these walls, that the reason why it felt no sympathy in their sufferings, no anxiety for their relief, was because the majority of its members had an interest directly opposite to the interests of the people; that this majority was not chosen, as of right it ought to have been, by the majority of the landowners and householders of England, but was nominated and appointed by a few individuals who, partly by the effects of time and accident, but still more by a barefaced perversion of the spirit and meaning of our laws and constitution, had acquired the power of selling or otherwise disposing of the seats in this House in such manner as best suited their own interests. That the late House of Commons was also repeatedly called upon, entreated and implored to set about reforming such a monstrous abuse, but that it uniformly refused to listen to such call; and though hesitating, fluctuating, and changing upon other questions of vital consequence to the country, upon this question of reform it determined to follow the advice of one of its own members and one of its own temporary elective dictators, dependent upon its own corrupt and prostituted votes, which has been truly called 'the most odious of all forms of tyranny, to oppose reform in every shape to the end of its political

existence,' and that, to the eternal disgrace of the last House of Commons, it kept this profligate determination obstinately to the last.

"But your Majesty may be assured, that if your Majesty had not been advised to dissolve the last Parliament in the sudden and unexpected manner in which it was dissolved, the late glorious events which have taken place in France would have had a mighty effect in shaking this profligate determination of the said House, and of inducing it to consider the difference between the guilt of bringing on death upon a nation by slow poison, or by a sudden blow; and that, by the law of England, there is such a thing as treason against the people as well as treason against the King. Your Majesty may also be further assured, that when great numbers of the nobility, being members of the Privy Council, were charged, in despite of the constant prayers of the Church, with being traffickers of the seats in this House, and that one of the fruits of such traffic was, not an endowment of 'grace, wisdom, and understanding,' but an endowment of more than half a million a-year of the public money among themselves; and that another fruit was the patronage of the Church, of the Army and Navy, and of the collection of about sixty millions a-year of taxes among the families, friends, and dependents of the masters of seats in the House of Commons.

"If these things had been seriously considered, it is not to be believed that the blood of Englishmen would submit to be for ever tainted with such political disgrace, but that there would have been a race among the said masters, and the buyers and sellers of seats in Parliament, who should be foremost in laying down upon the altar of this country this unhallowed and most damned property, or

power of trafficking in the representation of the Commons of England.

"Your Majesty may consider it as the firm conviction of the people, that if the last House of Commons had done its duty, it ought, upon every principle of justice, to have reduced the taxes at least in the same proportion that it raised the value of the currency; and thus half the present amount of taxes might and ought to have been taken off, including the whole of the cruel and harassing excise laws, and all those cheating indirect taxes, by which every labouring man, who earns and expends £30 a-year, has £18 taken from him. All the just expenses of the Government and the interest of the debt might have been reduced, with perfect equity, in the same proportion as the taxes, and all the unjust expenses of Government in useless and sinecure places, the diplomatic, colonial, and all other departments, kept up solely for the purposes of corruption, might and would have been done away with, if the last House of Commons had been the real, and not the sham representatives of the people. That the late attempt to destroy the freedom of the press and freedom of election in France, and thereby the more effectually to rob the people of that country of their rights and property, never would have been made, if the last House of Commons had had the sense and honesty to have restored freedom of election in England; that the King of France might still have been upon his throne, and all danger have been prevented from the mischiefs of anarchy and confusion, which have only been avoided by the unexampled wisdom of the brave and learned youth of France, and the splendid forbearance of the brave and honest working men of Paris, who did not hesitate to risk their lives when they saw that a system of tyranny and taxes was

about to be fixed for ever on them and on their children.

"And in reference to this affair, so important in its consequences, too much praise and thanks cannot be given to your Majesty for the honour you have conferred on England, whose sons were heretofore famed as 'ever first and foremost in the achievement of liberty,' in taking the lead, and setting the example of acknowledging the new King of the French; who, like your Majesty, sits upon his throne by the best and highest of all titles, that which is said to be the voice of God himself—namely, the voice of the people. For this great honour and service, it is the unanimous opinion of this House, of the whole nation, not to say of all Europe, that this act may justly be ascribed to the personal character of your Majesty, and to your own sense of justice and of the true interests of your subjects; and your Majesty, therefore, deserves to enjoy the hope that your name may be remembered by millions still unborn, for the lasting blessings of peace and friendship between France and England, which this act of your Majesty has every prospect of consolidating.

"And the members of this the first House of Commons in the new Parliament promise your Majesty, as it is fit they should, that if others learn nothing by example they will, as they do not doubt that a King who has already given such proofs of his desire of being beloved by his people, and of promoting the welfare and happiness of the industrious classes—that a King who more than thirty years ago, from his own mouth in Parliament, denounced monopolies as the canker of the State, and called upon the Legislature to root them out, will never endure to see his people ruined, and his crown put in hazard by that

worst of all monopolies—the monopoly of the seats of the House of Commons. So they implore your Majesty to withdraw your confidence and the patronage of the Crown from all persons engaged in or resolved upon upholding this odious traffic, and thereby implicating your Majesty in such connexion.

"And if, in so doing, your Majesty, who as yet stands clear of this system, and above all suspicion in the eyes of the country, should have to encounter a factious opposition to your Government, or if the usurping proprietors of seats in the House of Commons should be so lost to every sense of justice, and to their own interests, as to dare to set up their usurpation against the ancient, just, and undoubted prerogatives of the Crown, your Majesty may rely upon the zealous and determined support of this House, and of your people, even to the last drop of their blood.

"And your Majesty may be assured that nothing short of the complete annihilation of this odious and unrighteous monopoly of seats in the House of Commons will ever satisfy the just and unanswerable demands of your people to be restored to their ancient laws and constitution, of which they know they have been most wrongfully deprived by the corruption and prostitution of this House within little more than the last hundred years, which is but as yesterday in the history of laws of such high antiquity and such transcendent fame throughout the known world. That, next to the disesteem in which the memory of the last House of Commons is held by the people for refusing to enter upon the great question of Parliamentary Reform, would be the grievous disappointment and just indignation of the people, if nothing more than the representation of a few large towns were to be offered them, while the great

master-grievance of a proprietary interest and domination over seats in this House should be allowed to continue.

"And your Majesty may also rest assured, that the great majority of your people have no desire to alter the frame of the Government of King, Lords, and Commons, which has endured so long, and been productive of such advantages to the community; neither do they think it necessary or expedient to claim or demand any new plan or scheme of representation unknown and untried in the history and practice of their ancestors, but they will never cease to demand that wherever, according to that history and that practice, the right of representation has been bounded, there shall also be bounded the burden of taxation."

In these quiet times it is impossible to read such a document as the preceding without feelings of astonishment that such egregious exaggerations should have been presented to a legislative assembly like the British House of Commons, by a political party that had hitherto been as thoroughly committed to the alleged abuses described in the extraordinary language therein employed, as their opponents. The proprietary boroughs were quite as much a creation of the Whigs as of the Tories; indeed, as is well known, members of the most liberal principles had been content to seek a reputation in Parliament by entering it through this much-abused channel.

The violent denunciations and startling menaces which the heir of the Duke of Marlborough had

thought proper to address to his Sovereign, proved unmistakeably that the Whigs had adopted the principles of an extreme section of politicians as a road to popular favour, and by that road to supreme influence in the State. The time seemed favourable for a combination to attack the party against which they had for a long series of years carried on an untiring opposition with inadequate profit to themselves; and they appear to have felt assured that the revolutionary current which had set in from the French coast would carry them high and dry on that pleasant beach—the Treasury Benches.

The Marquis of Blandford, or those who advised him on this occasion, must have read the history of the last century with a singularly oblique vision, to venture to make a comparison in favour of the England under the guidance of Sir Robert Walpole and the England directed by the Duke of Wellington. It was impossible for anything to be more incorrect; and seriously to attempt such a contrast was equally insulting to the Sovereign, the Minister, and the people of the nineteenth century. The extravagance of the sentiments employed is only worthy of remark as a declaration of the new political philosophy; while the schoolboy declamation by which it is characterized throughout, cannot conceal the gratuitous assumptions, pretensions, professions, and abuse that pervade every sentence. If, however, it could have ended where it began, the document would have been perfectly harmless;

but it was eagerly seized as an authoritative acknowledgment of political abuses that had long flourished among the aristocracy, to the prejudice of what was pronounced exclusively to be the working classes; and its language was adopted and echoed with real democratic tendency, till a conviction appeared to be spreading among labourers and mechanics that they were the true source of political power, and had a right to use it solely for their own advantage.

The reader will observe the subsequent development of trades' unions and their objects, as well as the publication of the "People's Charter," and may easily trace both to this most injudicious partisan production. Its excessive commendation of the French revolution was, however, its most objectionable feature.

After the amendment had been seconded by Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Long Wellesley addressed the House in favour of reform and in opposition to portions of the King's speech. Sir J. Yorke replied with happy effect, and in his characteristic way opposed the amendment. He said:—

"His Majesty had been bred up in a man-of-war, had been educated in the cockpit, and had come from sitting on a midshipman's chest to take his seat upon the imperial throne of these realms. It was comfortable to him as a member of the same profession to which his Majesty had formerly belonged to see such an array of the representatives of the people assembled on the first day of the

session to do justice to the expectations of the country, and to endeavour to dole out from the concocted wisdom, a system which might give repose to Europe, and secure the peace and tranquillity of the world. The noble lord, he added, had proposed a long amendment, which, in the language of the profession, he would call a tough, long yarn, and which looked vastly like the pamphlet of some political *doctrinaire*."

Mr. Hume followed, denouncing the sentiments of the gallant Admiral for breathing of war in support of what he was pleased to call "that infamous system;" condemned the King's speech, applauded the proceedings of the French people, abused the Dutch, dilated on the necessity of a relief from taxation and the advantages of a strict economy, and defended Mr. O'Connell's proceedings in Ireland.

Sir Robert Peel answered him, commenting forcibly on his inflammatory language and misrepresentations, and defended the Government with his customary eloquence. Mr. O'Connell then commenced one of his most violent philippics against England and her institutions. Mr. Brougham defended him, and, after commenting on the alarming state of Ireland, passed to the assailable parts of the King's speech, which he attacked at great length and with much bitterness. The conclusion, however, was in his best style of oratory. He said:—

"The people, I am persuaded, are sound at heart. They love the monarchy. The people might love a republic in America, but *we* did not love it; we love our Parliament—I heartily wish it were purer, and then we should have nothing to fear. We preferred our limited King, our limited Crown—I will use the word prefer, because I know that it is made the shibboleth of a party. Then, I say, the people of England prefer a limited monarchy, and with that an aristocracy, for an aristocracy is a necessary part of a limited monarchy. The people of England prefer a limited monarchy to the republic, which may be suitable to another country. The people of England are quiet because they love their institutions. I wish well to the rights of the people, and by these rights I am resolved to live, being ready to perish with these rights and for them; because I, for one, think these rights are understood by the people, and are appropriate to their character and temper. Limited monarchy and aristocracy are the best securities for these rights, and I, for one, wish for no change. I wish for no revolution; and I speak, I am sure, the sentiments of the great bulk of the people, who love the institutions of their country, who love monarchy and love nobility, because with the rights and liberties of the people themselves these are all knit up together. They have a strong attachment to our form of government, and I would infinitely rather, if all these must perish, perish with them, than survive to read on the ruins the memorable lesson of the instability of the best institutions."

After a further discussion on the state of Ireland by Sir H. Parnell, Mr. M. Fitzgerald, Mr. Spring Rice, and Sir Henry Hardinge, the amendment

was negatived without a division, and the address agreed to. The former had merely been put forward as a party declaration; and as circulation all over the country had been secured for it, it might safely be left to work out its object.

Nothing material took place in the House till a motion was made on the following day that Lord Grimstone should bring up the report on the address, when the subject of reform in Parliament was again discussed, and the presumed defects in the King's speech once more debated on. Sir Robert Peel entered into a long and eloquent defence of the Government, and Mr. Brougham made a powerful attack on their foreign policy. A mild amendment, that had been moved by Mr. Tennyson, having been negatived without a division, another, breathing more warmly of economy and reform, proposed by Mr. Hume, shared the same fate.

Under such circumstances the attack on the constitution commenced—partly by sapping and mining its natural defences, partly by a fierce assault on its proper defenders, partly by a delusive proposition to make the citadel stronger than ever, and its garrison the most incorruptible in the world. It was useless to insist that the best engineers had been consulted in its production, and that it had served its purpose of protecting the liberties of the empire, while its best institutions had so flourished under its immediate influence that it had become

the envy of surrounding States; it was in vain to point to unquestionable evidence of the ability of its commanders, and the zeal and devotion of their subordinates: a new system of ideas had generated a love of change, with, of course, the intention of effecting improvement. The Whig experimentalists, many of them totally inexperienced in the science of government, announced authoritatively in the words of Wordsworth's hero:—

> "Of old things all are over old,
> Of good things none are good enough;
> We'll show that we can help to frame
> A world of other stuff."

And pretty stuff they made of it. As for their Radical allies, we may add from the same source, as their particular object,

> "Sufficeth then, the good old plan,
> That they may take who have the power,
> And they may keep who can."

In Ireland the agitation for a repeal of the Union was proceeding with frantic violence, though a declaration against the movement had been signed by thirty peers, seven baronets, and two hundred and sixty gentlemen of influence. The Lord-Lieutenant had also issued a proclamation for the suppression of a seditious society that was being organized under the title of "The Association of Irish Volunteers for the Repeal of the Union."

London had also evinced unequivocal signs of a disposition in the lower orders to disturbance; ostensibly directed against the new police and the Duke of Wellington, but the Government had received information that the occasion of the King going to dine with the Lord Mayor and Corporation on Tuesday, the 9th of November, would be seized upon to make a popular demonstration, the result of which seemed pregnant with mischief—indeed, a riot appeared certain, in which case the military would have to aid the civil force in repressing it. "If firing had begun," said the Duke to Sir William Knighton, "who could tell where it would end? I know what street firing is," he added; "one guilty person would fall, and ten innocent be destroyed. Would this have been well or humane for a little bravado, or that the country might not have been alarmed for a day or two?"[1] The Government advised his Majesty to defer his visit; and neither the King nor the Duke attended. This precautionary measure

[1] "Memoirs of Sir William Knighton."

created intense alarm, as rumours were in circulation of conspiracies, and of the arrival in London of large bodies of men from the agricultural and manufacturing districts, for revolutionary purposes. It was known also that the Tower was placed in a state of defence, and garrisoned with an additional body of artillery, another detachment being stationed at the West End; that the guards at the Bank were doubled, and that an unusual military force had marched into London. The funds fell three per cent. on Monday, and business of all kinds appeared at a stand-still. Whatever the extreme liberal party may have had to do with these intended unpopular manifestations against the King's Ministers in the King's presence, it is certain that both sections of the Opposition affected extraordinary indignation against the Government for the measures that had prevented their expression. They not only ventured to "pooh! pooh!" the unquestionable indications of a disposition to riot that were exhibited, but accused the Minister of having grossly misjudged the King's loyal subjects. The explanations, however, of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel were considered so satisfactory by the commercial world, that the funds rose on Wednesday five or six per cent. from the lowest quotation of Monday. The discussions that took place in Parliament at this time show how complete was the alliance of the Whigs with the Radicals.

The difficulties of the Duke of Wellington were

in no slight degree augmented by a section of his friends that had separated themselves from him and his policy, since he had brought forward the Catholic Emancipation Bill. They were generally noblemen of much political knowledge, and were possessed of considerable experience in public affairs, having served the State in high official employments; they were, however, by their opponents considered to represent ideas that were behind the age, and were much abused by all who affected liberal sentiments. The Duke, therefore, would only have been embarrassed by their assistance, could he have obtained it; but of this there did not appear to be any prospect.

A declaration against Ministers was pronounced in the House of Lords, on the 4th of November, by the Earl of Winchelsea. He stated that only Lord Grey and the noblemen with whom he acted possessed the confidence of the country; and he implored their lordships to place before his Majesty in strong but respectful terms, their want of confidence in his Majesty's advisers, and point out to his Majesty the necessity of placing the Government in the hands of men of more political honesty and integrity than the present Ministers, and more capable of discharging their duty to the Crown. This brought up the Duke of Wellington, who satisfied himself with a general complaint of Lord Winchelsea's misstatements.

On the same day, in the other House, Mr. Hume offered some suggestions to Ministers, on the foreign

policy of the country, that elicited no remark, and Mr. C. W. Wynn moved for leave to bring in a Bill for doing away with the oaths of adjuration on the acceptance of civil office, and with those taken by members of the House before the Lord Steward. He was supported by Mr. Cutlar Ferguson, Mr. O'Connell, and Lord Nugent. Sir Robert Peel saw no difficulty in the way of the abrogation of the oaths, and offered no opposition to the proposed measure, though he declined pledging himself to its support. After a similar opinion had been expressed by Sir Charles Wetherall, leave was given to bring in the Bill. Mr. Hume again referred to the proceedings of the Government respecting Belgium and Portugal, and moved for copies of recent correspondence; but on being informed of the cost of printing such papers, expressed himself satisfied.

The following day, after some observations on recent riots in Ireland, Mr. O'Connell presented a petition from Cockermouth, praying for reform, and declaring annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and vote by ballot, necessary for the salvation of the country. He made a speech distinguished by its virulence against the Duke of Wellington, which was severely commented on by Mr. Beaumont, Mr. Arbuthnot, and Mr. Croker, and was defended by Mr. Hobhouse. After some other business, Mr. Kenyon, before the House went into a Committee of Supply, demanded of the Government whether they intended proposing the appointment of a Select

Committee to consider the distressed state of the kingdom, with the view of devising some plan for its amelioration. Sir Robert Peel denied there was any such intention. Alderman Waithman and one or two other members made statements, till the question was put that the Speaker leave the chair, when Mr. Hume commenced an inflammatory harangue on the state of the country, and asked what the Government meant to do in the way of reduction of taxation. Sir Robert Peel declined to answer the question, which brought down on Ministers an attack from Colonel Davies. Mr. Baring exposed some of the misstatements and exaggerations that had been circulated by Mr. Hume's friends; Lord Howick defended them, and complained of the declaration in the King's speech respecting Belgium. Sir Robert Peel forcibly condemned the exciting language that had been used.

The paragraph in the King's speech relative to the estimates having been read, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved for a supply, when Mr. Hume again rose, and again took up the time of the House by abusing his political opponents. Mr. Baring, while defending himself, animadverted on the exaggerations that had been employed. Mr. Tennyson defended Mr. Hume. After Colonel Sibthorpe had made some remarks on the increasing distress of the people, the public business was allowed to proceed; but a motion for leave to bring in a Bill for

the more effectual administration of justice in Ireland, brought up Mr. O'Connell. Mr. Hume quickly followed to move for a copy of the King's Printer's Patent, and made another long speech, which was answered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Spottiswoode—he then moved for returns of pensions to widows of officers of the army, navy, and civil service; both motions were agreed to.

In the House of Lords, on the 8th of November, the Marquis of Lansdowne moved for the production of papers respecting Belgium; the Earl of Aberdeen having stated that there was no objection to their production, the Marquis of Londonderry expressed his approval of the intention of Ministers to preserve the faith of existing treaties; and averred that if the aristocracy would stand by the throne, the fomenters of mischief would soon be powerless. The Duke of Richmond said that he considered some change necessary in the representation, and was prepared to concede the demands of the people.

The Duke of Wellington, in his reply, entered into a statement of the causes that had led to the postponement of his Majesty's visit to the City. The Duke produced a letter from the Lord Mayor elect (Mr. John Key) announcing an intention of the populace to assault the Duke on his way to the annual feast of the Lord Mayor and Corporation. He stated that the Government had received information from other sources that the police were to be

attacked while the gas-lights were being extinguished, and that a variety of attempts would be made to excite riot and disorder; and that as his Majesty, the Ministers, the great officers of State, and the Foreign Ambassadors going in procession after the usual pageant, could not fail of attracting a very large assemblage, his colleagues had considered it preferable not to hazard a riot in the presence of the Sovereign; and in consequence his Majesty had been recommended to postpone his visit. The Duke ended by expressing his willingness to produce the documents required.

The Earl of Shrewsbury considered the present times full of danger, and pronounced a panegyric on Mr. O'Connell. The Marquis of Clanricarde acknowledged that he had heard the Duke of Wellington's explanation with "the greatest horror;" but what was horrible in it he did not attempt to describe, beyond stating that it had thrown a slur on the nation. Lord Grey then delivered another eulogy on the French revolution, and commented on the King having been prevented going to the civic banquet, acknowledging that he felt much consolation in knowing that the unpopularity insisted on, affected the Minister, and not the Sovereign.

The Duke of Wellington made a further explanation, fully justifying the measure he had advised. The Earl of Radnor, however, found it less satisfactory than the first, and attacked the Government for having been so easily frightened. The Marquis

of Bute defended the Duke; and as for any popularity worth having, he added, *that* would attend the man, who although he had no personal fear, did what he conscientiously considered to be his duty to his country and to his Sovereign, at the risk of losing, for the moment, popularity of another description.[1]

On the same day, in the House of Commons, after some conversation on the absence of Ministers, Lord Althorp attacked the Government for exposing his Majesty to the great unpopularity which might follow from disappointing the expectations of thousands of his faithful subjects. It elicited an explanation from Sir Robert Peel. The reading of Mr. Key's communication was interrupted by loud shouts of laughter from the Opposition, which Sir Robert endeavoured to check by pointingly commenting on it. He then proceeded to show the necessity for the advice that had been given to the King. He referred to the unpopularity of the new police, and the known intentions of the mob to attack the house of the Duke of Wellington, when the police were at a distance; as their services would be required to maintain order during the passage of the procession. He assured the House, that in the previous days the most industrious attempts had been made to inflame the public mind, and that thousands of handbills had been circulated, with the object of exciting to a breach of the peace. They were artfully adapted to effect

[1] "Hansard," Third Series, i. 263.

their mischievous purpose. One of them he now read to the House.

"To arms! to arms! *Liberty or Death!* London meets on Tuesday next, an opportunity not to be lost for avenging the wrongs we have suffered so long. *Come armed,* be firm, and victory must be ours!!!

"AN ENGLISHMAN."

Another, which he also read, was in the following terms:—

"*Liberty or Death!* Englishmen, Britons, and honest men! The time has at length arrived—all London meets on Tuesday—*come armed.* We assure you from ocular demonstration, that six thousand cutlasses have been removed from the Tower for the immediate use of Peel's bloody gang; remember *the cursed speech from the throne!!* These damned police are now to be armed. Englishmen, will you put up with this?"

Sir Robert dwelt on the inflammatory language of these handbills, and on the fact that no less than sixty-two cases of assaults on the police, made during the passage of the civic procession, had been brought under the cognizance of the magistrates the next morning; and in conclusion, stated that although it would be said that the Government was unpopular, while his Majesty was enthusiastically beloved by his people, he was content to bear that taunt, rather than forbear giving advice calculated

to secure the tranquillity of the Metropolis, to prevent the loss of life, and prevent, above all, any addition to the public excitement.

Mr. Brougham did not think a sufficient reason had been given for keeping his Majesty away from the Lord Mayor's dinner. He then expressed regret that the Duke of Wellington should have departed from his peculiar sphere into the labyrinths of politics, with an attempt on his part to shine as a great statesman; a character which nature, that formed him a great general, he prematurely added, *never intended that he should become.*

The debate was a long one—the liberal members seizing the opportunity to attack the Government, and the Ministers in the House defending themselves and their colleagues. In conclusion, Sir Robert Peel spoke warmly in praise of the sentiments that had been expressed by Mr. Denman, who had joined his voice to that of other members in reprehension of the personal attacks that had been made on the Duke of Wellington, and in censure of the brutal and savage outrages committed against the police.

Discussions followed respecting slavery—interference with affairs in Belgium—intercourse with the West Indies and America—and on the administration of justice in Ireland; but these proceedings were allowed to pass in a manner more becoming a great legislative assembly. The following day the House met again, and in a debate on the repeal of

the Union, Mr. O'Connell exceeded himself in the virulence of his abuse. Pointedly addressing Ministers, he said:—

"Ye place-holders, who revel on the hard earnings of the people; ye pensioners, who subsist on the public money; ye tax-consumers and tax-devourers, assault me as you please, I am not to be intimidated by you. I shall continue to stand by Ireland; for I represent her wants, her wishes, and her grievances."

The statements he ventured to make in the course of his speech were contradicted by Mr. Shaw, Mr. G. Dawson, Sir Robert Bateson, Captain O'Grady, Lord Althorp, Sir H. Hardinge, and Mr. Littleton. Though Mr. Brougham interposed to call the debate an irrelevant discussion, he more than once recommenced it. At last, more important questions were permitted to come before the House; these were, "Public Relief for the Poor," "Recovery of Small Debts," and the "Amendment of the Statute of Frauds," "The Officers of the Army," "The Sussex Jury Bill," and "Slavery." During a conversation on the last, Mr. O'Connell received a reproof from the Speaker for being "highly irregular" in urging imputations on honourable members.

The unjustifiable language employed by Mr. O'Connell was that which was being carefully circulated at public meetings, and in cheap publications. It mattered little to those who used it that

the persons so abused were men of high principle and really liberal feelings; that they were among the steadiest supporters of charitable institutions, and were promoters of every scheme that came recommended to them by its benevolence or utility; that they gave remunerative employment to a vast number of persons who without them would have had to endure many privations; and that under their patronage, trade, science, art, and literature were flourishing as they had never flourished before —they were Ministers, therefore they were abused.

The Duke of Buckingham had, in the alarming state of the country, encouraged the idea that had been brought forward by persons of property and influence throughout the kingdom, of increasing volunteer corps. This he had discussed with the Duke of Wellington, and subsequently his Grace wrote the following communication:—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, Nov. 10, 1830.

My dear Duke,

I learnt in conversation with the Secretary of State last night, that he is a little embarrassed by the offers to form volunteer corps which have been made to him. I conclude that your efforts upon this subject have proceeded from what passed between us in conversation at dinner on Monday.

To accept an offer of raising a corps of volunteers is not *cheap*, and is always a matter for the exercise of prudence. To refuse it sometimes occasions feelings of

irritation. Upon the whole, it is thought better not to give further encouragement of offers at present.

Believe me ever,

Yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, &c. &c.

The necessity for a volunteer force was certainly not so urgent thirty years ago as it is now; yet we were then arming against foes from within, not to prepare for an anticipated invasion. It is evident that the Duke of Wellington did not consider it advisable to encourage the movement. He held his political opponents too cheap, and could not be brought to consider them worth the expense and trouble of organizing regiments, the management of which might greatly increase the administrative labours of the Government, without affording that reliable support which it could demand only from the regular military force of the country.

On the 10th of November the plot began to thicken. Mr. Hume, while presenting a petition from Marylebone, complaining of distress, launched out against taxation. Subsequently Mr. Brougham not only expressed himself satisfied with the disposition of the people, but referring to a recent gathering, assured the House that "a more innocent, a more peaceable, a more harmless, a more good-humoured assemblage he had never witnessed." After other public business had been got

through, the Chancellor of the Exchequer laid on the table papers containing an account of the Civil List expenditure. Mr. Hume threatened opposition, and gave notice of his intention, on the following Friday, of moving that the House do resolve itself into Committee, to consider so much of the King's speech as related to the subject.

The following day, in the House of Lords, the Duke of Buckingham, as Lord Steward, laid on the table a copy of his Majesty's reply to the address presented to him by the House. After some more animadversion on the King's absence from the City feast, to which the Duke of Wellington replied, and the presentation of some petitions from the coal trade, the Earl of Winchelsea commenced a discussion on the employment of agricultural labourers, before moving his proposed Bill; which, after a reply from the Duke of Wellington, was suffered to be read a first time.

In the House of Commons, there was a long debate on the Subletting Act of Ireland, principally by the Irish members; and another on the state of the poor, in which they also played a principal part.

The House of Lords, on November the 12th, discussed the Kildare-street Dublin Society, and the outrages in Kent and Sussex. On the same day, in the Commons, after some business of minor importance, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved that the House do resolve itself into committee for the purpose of bringing forward the subject of the

Civil List expenditure, as he had announced a few days before. It was well known that the Government measure about to be produced, was the first of a series in contemplation for retrenching the national expenses and lessening the burdens of the people, and it was not improbable that, if suffered to pass, it might also lessen that unpopularity which had been, with so much labour, excited against the Ministry. The Whigs and Radicals, therefore, had resolved to bring all their available force against it, and it will be seen by a reference to the speeches of the Opposition, how well suited were their tactics to realize their object.

The Minister under whose auspices the Bill was brought before the House of Commons, began by dwelling on the universal desire in England to promote the comfort of the Sovereign and the dignity of the Crown. He represented the people as so attached to monarchy that they not only maintained their kings in comfort and dignity, but had always upheld the throne in honour and splendour. He expressed himself satisfied that there never was a period in which a warmer or more sincere affection existed among his subjects for their King than the present, and recommended the measure he was about to introduce as a middle course between niggardly parsimony and undue extravagance. He then proceeded to describe the historical features of the subject, and said:—"Upon the death of Queen Anne, Parliament had to provide for a considerable

debt incurred on the Civil List—a debt amounting to 500,000*l.* On the death of George I., Parliament had to provide for a debt incurred upon the Civil List to the amount of one million. Upon the death of George II., Parliament had to pay half-a-million on account of debts incurred upon the Civil List which had been granted to that monarch. During the reign of George III. (which extended over so long a period, and in which the events were of a feature so stirring and peculiar), the debts on the Civil List amounted to something between three and four millions. I repeat, therefore," he added, "I stand before the House in a peculiar and fortunate situation, in consequence of there now being at the close of a reign no debt to defray upon the Civil List granted to the late King. I say, sir," he said, addressing the Speaker, "these circumstances are honourable to the Parliament by which the original arrangement was made; for it proves that it formed so accurate an estimate of what was necessary to maintain the honour and dignity of the Crown, that it became for the first time in the history of this country possible for a monarch to confine his expenditure within the limits assigned him at the settlement of the Civil List."

After paying a compliment to the Parliament that had made the grant to the late King, and to George IV. for limiting his expenditure to its amount, he added, "We stand now in the situation

of having surrendered to us by his Majesty a greater revenue, greater in the value of its amount and greater in its number of various heads, than Parliament ever had at any former period when a settlement of the Civil List was called for. His Majesty has been graciously pleased to surrender to us not only the hereditary revenues of the Crown, which were also surrendered to us by the Sovereigns his predecessors, and which at this present moment amount to a sum not less than 800,000*l.* per annum, but his Majesty has also given up to us the casual revenues of the Crown, the droits of the Admiralty and droits of the Crown, the West India duties, and all the other casual revenues of the Crown, which were heretofore left to the peculiar and personal distribution and control of the Crown."

After dwelling on the importance of these concessions, the Chancellor of the Exchequer entered upon the consideration of the amount of Civil List which should render unnecessary the incurring of any debt by the Crown. He stated what this amount had been in the previous reign. "By the Civil List which was voted at the commencement of the last reign, the Sovereign enjoyed an allowance —for England, of 850,000*l.*, and for Ireland, of 207,000*l.* At that time it was thought advisable to leave the hereditary revenue of Scotland untouched, and that amounted to 109,000*l.* So far down, all were fixed allowances for the hereditary

revenues of the Crown in England, Ireland, and Scotland. Besides these permanent revenues, the droits of the Admiralty and the droits of the Crown were left in the power of the Sovereign, and they may be taken at an annual average of 32,600*l.* A compensation for additional diplomatic expenditure was allowed, amounting to 23,300*l.*; and the total of these various sums will amount very nearly to 1,221,000*l.*, which was the expenditure during the last reign for the purposes of the Civil List.

"Now, sir," he continued, addressing the Speaker, "it is my intention to remove from the new Civil List certain charges heretofore imposed upon it, to which I shall advert at a future period. For the purposes of comparison it is necessary that these should be deducted from the sums allowed to his late Majesty. Therefore, on account of them I take off 166,000*l.* in answer for charges which will not be made in the new Civil List. This will leave in round numbers about 1,055,000*l.*"

Subsequently he asked for a grant for the purposes of the new Civil List of 970,000*l.*, which was 85,000*l.* less than had been allowed George IV. He then enumerated other savings that were to be effected, including 38,500*l.* a-year, the King's income when Duke of Clarence, 15,000*l.* upon contingencies, 10,000*l.* on the Irish Pension List—making altogether a gain to the nation of 161,000*l.* After referring to the allowance for the Queen's household, which was also to be defrayed from the

grant just stated, he divided the arrangements of the Civil List into classes, and pointed out the diminution of the charges on each about to be made.

Lord Althorp, after the motion had been put, recommended the appointment of a Select Committee to examine into the details of the proposed arrangement, of which he expressed his disapproval. Sir Henry Parnell spoke on the same side, expressing similar opinions. Mr. Hume succeeded, and in a long speech went into every detail, found fault with every proposition, and protested against the entire arrangement. He was followed by Mr. Brougham, who professed to agree with Lord Althorp, and, as evidently, was in full accordance with Mr. Hume. The bulk of his speech consisted of technical objections against the alleged surrender of the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster, which he called a blunder in the King's speech.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer had already called up four opponents whose sentiments must have prepared the Government for the combination that had been organized against them. Sir Robert Peel now rose, and soon proved that no blunder had been committed—at least on his side the House; he then not only went into a masterly defence of the measure, but exposed the gross misrepresentations that had been employed to excite prejudice against the Government. Mr. Brougham replied, advocating a Committee of Inquiry, and affirmed in opposition to a statement of the preceding speaker,

as to Mr. Fox having assented to a previous arrangement of the Civil List, that this statesman was then but twelve years old. This assertion again brought up Sir Robert Peel, who proved that Mr. Fox was in Parliament when Mr. Burke brought forward the Act by which the Civil List was divided into the different classes of expenditure it then contained, and that he did not oppose it.

The Attorney-General said a few words in reference to Mr. Brougham's misunderstanding of a very clear sentence; and Lord James Stuart defended his kinsman, the Marquis of Bute, from an allegation published in a placard that had been extensively circulated, that he was in receipt of 62,000*l.* a-year of the public money; which he characterized as an infamous falsehood. Lord Palmerston made the same kind of comments on the King's speech, in which his party had already so freely indulged; and then the House went into the subject of the West Indian trade with America. Slight discussions on one or two other topics of minor interest followed.

On the 15th of November, Lord Durham, in the House of Lords, while presenting a petition against the metropolitan police system, acknowledged the efficiency of the new police, but objected to the expense they brought upon parishes. Lord Suffield, Lord Rosslyn, and Lord Tenterden, defended the system. The Lord Chancellor then addressed the House at length, while bringing forward the Go-

vernment measure respecting the Regency, that would be necessary in case of the decease of the Sovereign before the Princess Victoria should attain the age of eighteen. He acknowledged it would be quite impossible that any individual could be recommended for that important office in preference to the illustrious mother of her Royal Highness, in consequence of the manner in which she had hitherto discharged her duty in superintending her daughter's education. It was therefore desirable that her Royal Highness should be appointed sole Regent, but not with the assistance of a council, in accordance with precedents established towards the close of the reign of George II., and in the fifty-first year of George III., but that she should be left to administer the Government by means of the responsible Ministers of the Crown. After some consideration on the contingency of a posthumous child, the speaker stated that the Bill would in that case constitute the Queen Regent during its minority. Lord Eldon having said a few words in commendation of the measure, the Bill was read a first time.

On the same day, in the House of Commons, after Mr. O'Connell had presented a petition from two parishes in Westmeath, ostensibly complaining of distress, but in reality attacking the character of the Duke of Buckingham through an agent employed on a portion of his Irish estates—the Marquis of Chandos contradicted all the statements

that had been made, and assured the House that the gentleman against whom they had been directed was in town, ready to disprove them. He said that all the disturbance which had occurred in the parishes referred to, had arisen from the improper interference of the Roman Catholic priest, who had delivered inflammatory language from the altar of his chapel; and that a tenant of the Duke's, having been applied to lately for his rent, had refused to pay it, declaring he had been directed so to do by the priest, and that he would sooner go through hell fire than disobey his reverence. In short, that the tenants had been encouraged to withhold their rent as long as that gentleman should remain the Duke's agent. In conclusion, he expressed his hope that Mr. O'Connell would for the future examine the truth of assertions made in petitions before he presented them to the House.[1]

The incendiaries in the home counties having been referred to, Mr. Hume mentioned the associations that had been entered into for mutual protection, accused Ministers of having been the cause of the mischief, and said that the only remedy for it was their removal.

Sir Robert Peel expressed his conviction that the last speaker did not mean what he had stated, and appealed to the House whether it was proper to hold out even a shadow of palliation for the late detestable proceedings. Mr. Hume said he had

[1] "Hansard." Third Series, i. 513.

been misunderstood. Sir Robert Peel disclaimed any intention of putting an unfair construction upon his expressions, but stated his opinion that his observations were but little calculated to put down incendiarism, if he wished to put it down; and were, at least, ill-timed.

Soon afterwards, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved that the order of the day be read, and that the House do go into a Committee upon the Civil List, when Sir Henry Parnell commenced the debate with a long speech, finding fault with all the details of the proposed arrangement. He ended by moving as an amendment, "That a Select Committee be appointed to examine the accounts presented to the House by order of his Majesty connected with the Civil List, and to report thereon."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then defended the details of the Government measure *seriatim*, and opposed the amendment. Mr. Bankes was in favour of a Committee; Mr. Calcraft against. Lord Althorp supported the amendment. Mr. C. W. Wynn gave an account of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Civil List on the death of George III. After two or three more declarations, the House divided, and the numbers were—On the original motion, 204. Against, 233. Majority against the Government, 29.

The following day the Duke of Wellington, from his place in the House of Lords, said:—

"My Lords, I deem it my duty to inform your

lordships, that in consequence of what occurred last night in the other House of Parliament, I felt it right to wait this morning on the King, and tender his Majesty the resignation of the office which I hold; that his Majesty has been pleased to accept my resignation; and that I continue in my present situation only till a successor shall have been appointed."

Sir Robert Peel made a similar announcement the same day in the House of Commons. Indeed, all the Ministers resigned; and their political opponents had now nothing to do but to step into their places. This, however, though apparently easy, required deliberation. The combination that had effected the overthrow of the Government was made up of many elements; a variety of claims were to be considered; and much as the leading Whigs may have desired to reward their followers, it was found impossible to satisfy them all. Some had places, some had to be contented with having them in prospect; some had gifts, some honours; the rest were paid in promises. It was rather embarrassing for a political party coming into power upon economical principles to find the means of retaining around them the force which had enabled them to overthrow their opponents. Even the shrewdest lookers-on, who saw most of the game, were not quite satisfied that the winning party would gain much by their triumph.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Nov. 17, 1830.

I fully expected that the result would be in both points such as it has been—that the question would be lost, and that the Government would resign.

Certainly it is a most terrible task that must fall upon their successors, be they who they may. God grant them wisdom to get through it for the safety of the country!

Ever most affectionately yours,

G.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Nov. 18, 1830.

I am sure I cannot wonder that there should be the greatest indisposition (were it, indeed, much greater than it is) to take office in the present state of Parliament and the country. Who can be so sanguine as to hope a good result from any labours he may bring to such a task?

The moment I know your wishes as to what is to be done *here*, I need not tell you that they are decisive with me, and I shall send my subscription to Salthill to-day.

Surely you did quite right, having been named to your office by the King, not to throw it at his head, because D. W. has resigned. But I have little doubt that your staff will be demanded of you.

At the date of this letter, the Duke of Buckingham had not resigned his post of Lord Steward, but did so shortly afterwards.

MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Seaham Hall, Sunderland, Nov. 18, 1830.

Although you have not sent me a line, my dear Duke, I too much apprehend the news this day here of the Duke's *fall* is true. I own it does not surprise me.

You will see, as I told you, Lord Grey will form a Government without *exclusion*. I shall be very glad to know what your ideas and views are. I think you will admit no man could treat another worse at the *eleventh hour* than the Duke did me. Not even thanks nor a *call* for my support. I suppose you will stand by the King, and keep the household office. Pray inform me *confidentially* what you think and intend doing, as *I know* the King would have wished to accomplish my object, and was arrested by the Duke. What am I to feel or think of him? There is no use in sending my proxy now.

Ever yours, most sincerely,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

This country is quite quiet here.

By taking an unprejudiced view of the question on which the Duke of Wellington's Government had been displaced, and bearing in mind the proceedings of their successors on the same subject, the reader will see the hollowness of the professions that accompanied this attack. The Civil List expenses of William IV. would be framed under the superintendence of the Duke of Wellington with quite as close an approximation to a rational

economy, as was likely to be attempted by any of his political opponents. In truth, all that was said in opposition to the Government arrangements was of a thorough partisan character; no sincere objection was entertained; the pretext of cutting down pensions and getting rid of sinecures was useful in Parliament, as it was sure out of doors to obtain the approval of the multitude, who were taught to think that all the supporters of Ministers lived entirely at the public expense, and that the people were heavily taxed to provide them with the means of living luxuriously.

The Whigs had no real intention of interfering to any important extent with the Civil List; it was only at a later period, when they were driven into a corner, and knew not where to look for assistance, that they encouraged an attack upon pensions. The clamour raised against all who had obtained grants from the Crown for their services was a safe foundation to work upon; and misrepresentations on their nature and extent, though constantly exposed, were as constantly repeated, as a cheap means of exciting popular prejudice and obtaining popular support.

CHAPTER VI.

[1830.]

POLICY OF THE ULTRA-TORIES — THEIR PROPOSITION TO ASSIST THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO RETURN TO POWER — HIS REPLY — LORD GRENVILLE'S COMMENTS ON THE DUKE'S PROCEEDINGS — AGRARIAN DISTURBANCES — ORGANIZATION OF THE WHIG GOVERNMENT — DISSATISFACTION OF THE RADICALS — EARL GREY'S DECLARATION OF POLICY — PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS — THE REGENCY BILL — THE PRINCESS VICTORIA — THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON ON AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS — REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT.

CHAPTER VI.

The section of the Conservative party that had seceded from the ranks of the Duke of Wellington, had assisted materially in effecting the overthrow of his Government. So large a number of members had been absent at the division, and so many who ought to have voted for the measure had voted against it, it was impossible to avoid coming to the conclusion that it was not so much the intention of such persons to bring Lord Grey in, as to turn the Duke of Wellington out. Hardly, however, had they succeeded in producing the Duke's downfall, than they appear to have entertained misgivings as to its advantage to them, and opened a communication with him suggesting his return to office with their assistance. The manner in which this was met is highly characteristic of the Duke; indeed, it is difficult to point out a document written so thoroughly in his peculiar style as the following:—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, Nov. 21, 1830.

My dear Duke,

The Government is scarcely yet at an end, and the gentlemen to whom its dissolution is to be attributed in a great degree, propose that I should think of forming another upon a broader basis!

Would this be fair to the King? Would it be consistent in myself? Could such a scheme succeed, if I was capable of thinking of it?

I have been defeated in my attempt to serve the public. I will not say that I will not serve again, as I am going into Hants to serve the King in another capacity, as soon as I shall be relieved from the Government. But this I will say: I will not now join a scheme for getting together another Administration.

Believe me, ever yours most sincerely,

Wellington.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, &c. &c.

It may now be generally admitted that the Duke had fair cause of complaint, and was not likely to be in a disposition to enter into any relations with those to whom he attributed his defeat; on the other hand, it must be allowed that he had in a measure provoked his fate. He had given way to popular excitement against his own convictions, and without effecting the promised benefits for the community at large, had opened the door of concession wide enough to excite hopes of getting the opening

enlarged at every successive demand, till there came an opportunity for a rush that left him outside. To the remonstrances of those who had foreseen the consequences, he would not listen; while he made it unpleasantly plain to them that he cared as little for their support as for their opposition. He had fallen into another mistake, which may be regarded as an acknowledgment of the one already committed. He tried to close the door he had unwarily opened. Early in the session, the Duke had hazarded a declaration that he saw no necessity for reform, and would oppose its introduction, which was fiercely commented on by his political opponents in Parliament and out. Probably, if the Minister could have foreseen the mischievous use that would be made of his sentiments, he would have spoken less confidently. He spoke, however, as his Grace always did, with thorough manliness and sincerity, well aware that the clamour on the subject had been got up for party purposes, and that the people for whom parliamentary reform was brought forward as a panacea for every ill that had affected or could affect them, would receive little, if any, material benefit from it in any shape. Lord Grenville seems to have taken this view of the case, which he thus expresses:—

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Nov. 21, 1830.

I think you did quite right to resign. It would not have appeared creditable to you to hesitate in such a case. But, on the other hand, I should in your circumstances be very slow in committing myself to the ranks of any Opposition that may arise. *Voir venir* is, I think, your true course.

Certainly, never was any man less of a parliamentary reformer, *in principle*, than myself. But that matter, like others, has been suffered to get to a head in popular opinion (and I speak not here merely of mob clamour), in which it is much easier to point out what has occasioned the present difficulty of meeting that question, than how it is best now to be met.

It is quite evident that the D. of W. took the worst course upon it; and I am myself much inclined to believe that he said—what is not uncommon with a man so little used to measure his words—much more than he had intended. It has been most unfortunate for him, and not less so for the question.

Absolute resistance, *in limine*, to *any* reform, is manifestly no longer practicable; a disposition must be professed, and acted upon, to consider such propositions in detail, judging of every one of them on its own merits, and not adopting them merely because they will work a change, unless it is also shown that such change is in itself beneficial.

Lord Londonderry, on seeing the announcement of Lord Hill's appointment to the command of the

regiment the King had expressed a wish that he should have, was, as may be supposed, not very well pleased; but it is evident from his communication that he was indisposed to take any active share in politics in the present state of things. He had shown his perfect disinterestedness at a critical period for the Minister, and had not received for it even a civil acknowledgment.

MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Seaham Hall, Sunderland, Nov. 22, 1830.

My dear Duke,

You know fully my principles and sentiments, and my ardour and zeal in any cause I embark in.

If I could do *any good*, I would not only go up to town, but to the Land's End if necessary. You are better than any one apprised of the mode in which my feeble exertions at the moment of danger were appreciated. And when H. M. wished to confer a favour, you are aware *how* and by *whom* it was arrested. As is natural, all this creates apathy, and anything but a desire to *volunteer*. Besides, I learn the Duke has intimated he does not mean to take office again; and Peel, in his farewell address to his party, expressed his dislike to public life, would hear of no organized opposition, and said he should support the monarchy under all this *carte du pays;* and as I was in no degree a member of the late Government, and as when, at their sinking, I did not get a civil word for supporting them, I think my most prudent line is to remain quietly where I am. I shall always feel most thankful to you for the part you have

acted towards me.' And I cannot but believe that while negotiating for your friend you must have felt how ill he was treated, as much as you would had you been in his position. Lord Hill's having the Blues, and remaining, looks strongly as if the Duke was still to pull the strings of the army, behind.

Ever yours, most sincerely,

V. L.

The disturbances in the country had not been put down by the speeches of Mr. Hume. As Sir Robert Peel had stated, they were very little calculated to produce such an effect. What share they had in encouraging the rioters, it is not necessary now to explain. Let it suffice to know that the evil had so greatly extended, that the Duke of Wellington's Government had thought proper to issue a proclamation offering a reward of 50*l.* for every person convicted as authors or perpetrators of the outrages, and 500*l.* for the conviction of an incendiary. The associations, however, that were being organized over the disturbed districts, did more towards putting an end to the frightful demoralization of the rural population than anything else; and among the persons of influence who made themselves conspicuous in calling such societies into existence, was the Duke of Buckingham. A communication he wrote on the subject is thus commented on:—

RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Nov. 23, 1830.

Your letter, my dear Duke, gave me very great pleasure, as it has done to many to whom I have read it, and I have just forwarded it to Dropmore.

In truth, it is an excellent example, and will have the best effect in showing everybody that they must resist for themselves, and that if they do, they are almost sure to succeed; whereas if every gentleman sits in his arm-chair and expects to be defended in Wiltshire by the Horse Guards and new police, the rioters will soon be the masters of the country.

I hear no news. The papers will show you how early the reforming lords are in their attack upon Lord Grey.

God bless you, my dear Duke.

Ever most affectionately yours,

T. G.

The labours of those engaged in forming a new Ministry were at last brought to a conclusion, and they produced the following changes:—

Office.	*Present Government.*	*Late Government.*
First Lord of the Treasury	Earl Grey	Duke of Wellington.
Lord Chancellor	Mr. Brougham	Lord Lyndhurst.
Lord President of Privy Council	Marquis of Lansdowne	Earl Bathurst.
Privy Seal	Lord Durham	Earl of Rosslyn.
Home Secretary	Viscount Melbourne	Sir Robert Peel.
Under Secretary	Hon. G. Lamb	Mr. Yates Peel.
Colonial Secretary	Viscount Goderich	Sir G. Murray.
Under Secretary	Lord Howick	Mr. Horace Twiss.
Foreign Secretary	Viscount Palmerston	Earl of Aberdeen.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Viscount Althorp	Mr. Goulburn.
First Lord of the Admiralty	Sir James Graham	Viscount Melville.

Office.	*Present Government.*	*Late Government.*
President of the Board of Control	Right Hon. C. Grant	Lord Ellenborough.
President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint	Lord Auckland	Mr. Herries.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Lord Holland	Mr. Arbuthnot.
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	Marquis of Anglesea	Duke of Northumberland.
Lord Chamberlain	Duke of Devonshire	Earl of Jersey.
Postmaster-General	Duke of Richmond	Duke of Manchester.
Master of the Horse	Earl of Albemarle	Duke of Leeds.
Lord Steward	Marquis Wellesley	Duke of Buckingham.
Judge Advocate	Mr. R. Grant	Sir J. Beckett.
Woods and Forests	Hon. A. Ellis	Lord Lowther.
Paymaster-General	Lord J. Russell	Mr. Calcraft.
Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Treasurer of the Navy	Mr. Chas. P. Thomson	Mr. F. Lewis.
Secretary for Ireland	Mr. E. G. S. Stanley	Sir H. Hardinge.
Master-General of the Ordnance	Sir W. Gordon	Viscount Beresford.
Surveyor-General of the Ordnance	Sir R. Spencer	Sir H. Fane.
Secretaries of the Treasury	Mr. Edward Ellice Mr. Spring Rice	Mr. Joseph Planta. Mr. Geo. R. Dawson.
Master of the King's Buckhounds	Viscount Anson	Lord Maryborough.
Attorney-General	Mr. Denman	Sir J. Scarlett.
Solicitor-General	Mr. Horne	Sir E. B. Sugden.
Lord Chancellor for Ireland	Lord Plunkett	Sir A. Hart.
Attorney-General for Ireland	Mr. Pennefather	Mr. Joy.
Solicitor-General for Ireland		Mr. Doherty.
Lord Advocate for Scotland	Mr. Francis Jeffrey	Sir John Rae.
Solicitor-General	Mr. James Cockburn	Mr. Hope.

Lord Nugent, Mr. Robert Vernon Smith, Mr. Francis Thornhill Baring, and the Hon. George Ponsonby, were associated with Lord Althorp and Lord Grey, in the new Treasury Board, and the new Admiralty Board consisted of Sir James Graham, Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy, Admiral G. H. L.

Dundas, Captain Sir S. B. Pechell, and Captain the Hon. George Barington. Mr. Charles Williams Wynn was not only announced as Secretary at War, but as one of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India. Viscount Granville was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the King of the French. Mr. Brougham was created a peer, and the Solicitor and Attorney-Generals were knighted.

This distribution of the prizes did not satisfy all who had, or fancied they had, tickets in the political lottery. In particular, the Radicals were not as fortunate as they had anticipated they should be. Indeed, when we consider the democratic sympathy that had been so frequently avowed by the Whigs in Parliament and on the hustings, it is surprising that they should have ventured to form a Government which was in its elements far more aristocratic than its predecessor. It was a reflection on the capacity of the Radicals, to which, though the latter were not at first disposed to submit, they eventually reconciled themselves, on the plea that it was against their principles to become placemen. Still less agreeable to them was the declaration the new Prime Minister made in the House of Peers immediately on entering office, that he would not support any of what he called the fanciful and extensive plans of reform advocated by persons out of doors, which would lead, he acknowledged, not to reform, but to confusion. Lord Grey said more than this; for he added "I do not support, I never

have supported universal suffrage and annual parliaments, nor any other of those very extensive changes which have been, I regret to say, too much promulgated in this country, and promulgated by gentlemen from whom better things might have been expected."[1]

This was "the unkindest cut of all;" certain politicians who had spoken so immediately to the people were disavowed in unequivocal language. The Minister having done this, gave the strongest possible assurances that he was not disposed to meddle with the settled institutions of the country, and would have nothing to do with fanciful alterations, which he acknowledged, if they could be carried into effect, would produce no result except that of occasioning a lamentable collision between the several orders of the State, the firm union and mutual interests of which, he said, it would ever be his object to maintain.

He intimated that a measure of parliamentary reform was under consideration, but that it demanded time and deliberation, and promised that the state of the country should have the immediate attention of himself and his colleagues. He declared that it was his determined resolution whenever outrages were perpetrated, or excesses were committed, to suppress them with severity and vigour, as severity was the only remedy that could successfully be applied to such disorders.

[1] "Hansard," Third Series, i. 600.

Here, again, was "a heavy blow and great discouragement" to the advocates of Captain Swing—their occupation was gone—indeed, these gentlemen might, if they spoke favourably of the incendiaries, entitle themselves to that severity which was about to be employed for the suppression of their clients.

Lord Grey then promised economy—promised to maintain the public credit—promised to preserve a proper relation with the allies of Great Britain; in short, judging from his professions, a more promising Administration than his own it was impossible to imagine.

The first symptom of a storm from the Radical quarter of the political compass appeared in a speech that was then delivered by Lord Radnor, who assured the new Government that the parliamentary reformation they contemplated would be rejected as insufficient by the whole country; and he warned the Prime Minister that he would spread dismay and confusion throughout the kingdom, should he fail to bring forward a reform on an extensive scale.[1]

Lord Grey in reply, did not seem inclined to give way; indeed, he plainly said that those for whom the last speaker had spoken, expected revolution and not reform. The Marquis of Lansdowne also addressed the House to the same purpose. Lord Wharncliffe ventured to make some suggestions to

[1] "Hansard."

the Government, and cautioned the Minister against being led too much by mere popular applause. He said that the people had been persuaded that the most extravagant benefits would result from reform, but he was assured that if it were granted to-morrow, in the largest sense, it would not relieve their sufferings. The Earl of Carnarvon acknowledged that, though he was a well-wisher to the cause of reform, he was satisfied it could afford no remedy to the existing distress. Lord Grey replied in a few words, in which he told the advocates of extensive and extravagant alterations that they ought to have shown the new Government the civility of waiting till their measures should be submitted to them.

On the 22nd of November, the House of Commons had a series of small discussions on subjects of temporary interest, followed by a speech from Mr. Hume, withdrawing his motion on the reduction of official salaries; he was also obliged by the Speaker to withdraw a petition he presented. A conversation on election committees followed. The next day, Mr. Croker made a violent attack on Lord Brougham, for having accepted office in the teeth of a recent declaration to the contrary. The Lord Chancellor was warmly defended by Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. Macaulay, and Lord Morpeth. This conversation preceded discussions on colonial slavery, on the adjournment of the House, and the Lieutenant-General of the

Ordnance; and the presentation of a petition by Mr. Wyse caused a debate upon the distress existing in Ireland.

In the House of Peers, on the 25th, Lord Durham brought forward two petitions praying for the abolition of the new police. Lord King presented a petition from the Mayor, Aldermen,. and Corporation of London, praying for a reform in Parliament; and a few remarks were made by Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Grey on the Regency Bill. On the same day the House of Commons had a slight discussion on church rates; other business of little importance was afterwards proceeded with. The following day in the Lords, on Lord Grosvenor presenting some petitions, Lord Brougham entered upon a defence of his conduct, the substance of which was, that he was not surprised to find other people wondering at his acceptance of office; for in fact, no one could be more astonished by it than he had been himself.

On the 29th of November there was a debate in the Upper House on the state of the country, in the course of which Lord Carbery exposed the nature of the proceedings of Mr. O'Connell in Ireland. The Marquis of Salisbury then moved for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the administration of the poor laws. The following day there was a discussion in the same branch of the Legislature on amendments in law proceedings, while the House of Commons had its

attention taken up with election petitions and the expense of the new police.

In the Lords, on the 2nd of December, the Lord Chancellor made a very long oration on the courts of local jurisdiction, while bringing forward a Bill for their reformation. The same day the Commons considered several questions of temporary interest. On the 3rd, the Duke of Newcastle, in the House of Peers, complained of a libel that had been published in the *Morning Chronicle;* and Lord Lyndhurst, when the report of the Regency Bill was brought up, moved this additional clause :—

. "That in the case of the Duchess of Kent becoming Regent, and the Princess Victoria desiring to marry before she attained the age of eighteen, she should not be permitted to marry a foreigner without the consent of the two Houses of Parliament; and that in case the Duchess of Kent should marry a foreigner in the lifetime of his Majesty, but without his consent, she should by that act forfeit all pretensions to the Regency under this Bill."[1]

. The position of the Princess attracted towards her Royal Highness the solicitude and sympathy of all classes of the people. A proper consideration of her chance of succeeding to the throne showed that there was much at stake, and the bitter disappointment caused by the untimely fate of the last female heiress presumptive gave deeper feeling to the interest with which she was regarded. It was desirable

[1] "Hansard."

that her youth should be, as much as possible, watched over to protect it from all evil contingencies, and though there could not be a better guardian for the Princess than the one nature had provided her with, the anxiety of a nation demanded precautions that, under other circumstances, would have been considered totally unnecessary. We can now afford to smile on the jealous affection with which her Royal Highness was fenced round thirty years ago.

In the meantime, the disturbed state of the rural districts had undergone some amelioration. Though the inflammatory language that had been wont to proceed from certain persons in the House of Commons and elsewhere had ceased since the organization of the Whig Government, the hatred against property and authority they inculcated had spread to such an extent that Ministers found it difficult to deal with the evil effectually. Notwithstanding Lord Grey's threats of severity, no extraordinary measures were taken to give additional powers to the magistracy. It was confidently stated that the acts of incendiarism proceeded from foreigners; but the Duke of Wellington in his place in Parliament had disproved this, while expressing his conviction that they afforded evidence of a conspiracy of some kind.

In the following communication the Duke states his views on this subject, and refers to some points in Lord Grey's policy.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, Dec. 4, 1830.

My dear Duke,

I received your letter of the 1st from Avington. I concur in your reflections upon the incautious promises to raise wages to twelve shillings a-week. Those who would suffer most from such a general measure would be the labouring classes themselves.

We shall do no good with the poor and poor laws till the gentlemen of the country and the clergy will themselves attend the parish vestries.

I think it fortunate that the outrages commenced as they did in Hampshire, and were aimed at once at the pockets of those who had anything in them. Not a life has been lost, but little concession has been made, and little property destroyed by open outrage. In the meantime, those who have something to lose have learnt how to associate and resist, and they will be better prepared for what we may yet have to do.

I believe that the Government have confirmed all that we had done about Belgium, and they profess and follow our course. In the meantime, the French are arming and talking of war, which in our time was never whispered.

I have heard nothing of their plan of reform. I refer you to the discussion of last night in the House of Lords, and to the comments of the *Morning Chronicle* of this morning upon the same for a notion of the relations of

the Government with the ultra Tories. I have no relation with them whatever.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, &c., K.G.,
Stowe, Buckingham.

The Duke's disclaimer of any connexion with his old political friends shows that his feelings against them had undergone no alteration. Indeed, there is reason to believe that the party remained as a kind of political briar, that kept unpleasantly reminding him of their vicinity, despite of his constant attempts to keep at a safe distance. He insisted on his complete independence: he proclaimed his entire isolation; nevertheless, they were a constant thorn in his side, and do what he would, and say what he would, he continued to experience their uncomfortable influence. It was some time before he grew in the slightest degree reconciled to their association, and then submitted with the spirit of an enforced penitent to an unpleasant penance.

It is impossible to read the following note without a feeling of sympathy for the writer. He was a statesman in the truest sense of the term, whose inclinations had ever been to advance the social position of his countrymen; but he could not fail to observe the retrograde motion they had lately been content with, under the auspices of leaders

who wanted every qualification as guides. He laments his age and infirmities, but only for rendering him helpless in a crisis that demanded the best services of every real patriot; and warmly commends the proceedings of his correspondent, who was setting a good example to members of his order by his vigilance and activity.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Dec. 7, 1830.

I have been unwell, my dearest nephew, and quite unable to write on all that is passing. Would I could also keep myself from thinking of it!

You are quite right in believing that all that has passed *here*, in any way *untoward*, has arisen from the utter helplessness that there has been wherever help was to be looked for. But I have no right to reproach others, for a more helpless being than myself cannot be found in this hundred or county, or in any other.

S * * * * is no friend of mine, though you call him so, nor, I hope, any enemy of mine. I never saw him in my life. His father, the D.C.L., I knew, and he was in my yeomanry when I also, instead of groaning over this tide of evil that has now come back upon us, was capable of exerting myself to resist it. But I was then in health and in my fourth decade, not paralytic and in my eighth.

I do not know what I could do with your arms, for the offer of which, however, I heartily thank you. I can only say, in the usual language of helplessness, I hope we shall now have no occasion for them.

Of politics I think as little as possible. I fear you

are quite right in saying that our revolution is, I should indeed say not *begun*, but *far advanced*. It is, as usual in such cases, very easy to point out, and to condemn, the long course of misconduct continued quite up to this actual moment, which has brought us into this fearful condition. But it is very difficult, if not impossible, to show what can now stop the mischief. Concession and resistance are questions not to be treated now in abstract propositions of the general policy of either, but with a most delicate and difficult reference to the actual state of the country in which they are to be pursued. Some proportion of both these must quite evidently now be, and so indeed it always is in such a crisis. And what is to be the extent and limits of each is just now one of the most difficult problems that any man can be called to decide and act upon.

I am sure that under such circumstances of public danger you will mean to do right, and I heartily pray that you may do what really is best for the country. For myself, I am a poor, infirm and superannuated passenger, sharing in all the danger of the storm, but wholly incapable of aiding to keep the vessel in a safe course, if indeed there is any such open to her.

I have written more than I thought I could, and the doing so does me no good, but, on the contrary, all possible harm.

I quite approve of your increasing the yeomanry, and wonder that you do not write *officially* to Lord Melbourne to represent the *evident* necessity of extending the special commission to this county.

I have no fear of anybody involving us in war. The truth is (I should be sorry that France or America overheard me), our entering on any such course just now is

as much a physical impossibility as it would be for me to set about (as you say) drilling my servants and labourers.

I do not think even Polignac's ordinances much worse considered than the King's speech, and still more the Duke's.

The reference in the last paragraph, to the state of things existing in France, does not show that sense of impending evil which breathes throughout the rest of the communication; but the writer's vision was so engrossed by the dangers at hand that he could not attend sufficiently to the indications of the coming storm that became visible afar off. In truth, public feeling in England was in so diseased a state that the symptoms were quite sufficient to absorb the attention of such a spectator as Lord Grenville describes himself to be.

The success of the pioneers of liberation had been felt at the extreme links of the social scale in England; each of the latter fancying itself unfavourably placed, desired to advance, and as it was represented to them that great advantages were to be gained by the easy process of displacement, there was increasing commotion along the whole line to get rid of the higher links, and constitute themselves the head of the chain. The changes of this nature produced by the French Revolution were constantly quoted by a certain class of politicians, who, however, carefully ignored the tyranny it prepared; but all who had nothing to lose and everything to gain by such upside-down arrangements were sure to

turn an attentive ear to representations so much to their profit.

A sense of wrong was instilled by way of additional excitement, and rank and wealth were, as in the Reign of Terror, represented as only to be regarded as the symbols of despotism and injustice. Some pains may have been taken to discriminate between Whig and Tory offenders in this way, but had a revolution commenced, the distinguishing marks would soon have been lost sight of.

CHAPTER VII.

[1 8 3 0-1.]

ILLEGAL PROCESSIONS—INSANE ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON—HIS SPEECH ON THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY—DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT—PROCEEDINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT TO PUT DOWN AGRARIAN DISTURBANCES — IRELAND — ANTI-SLAVERY PETITIONS—REVOLUTION IN POLAND—TRIAL OF PRINCE POLIGNAC AND HIS COADJUTORS—POLITICAL PROSPECTS ON THE OPENING OF THE NEW YEAR—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON ON THE STATE OF PARTIES—INDICATIONS OF A PEEL PARTY—PROPOSALS FOR A NEW COMBINATION.

CHAPTER VII.

On the sixth of December, the Regency Bill was read a third time in the House of Lords and passed. On the same day the House of Commons had discussions on reform, repeal of the Union, salaries, pensions, and distress, till the House resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, when several grants were sanctioned—without the slightest opposition from Mr. Hume. On the following day, Lord Althorp gave notice of motions for a Select Committee on Salaries and Emoluments, and for a Committee of Supply to take the Civil List into consideration. Subsequently various other public business was entered upon.

On the 8th, in the Upper House a startling event occurred that created much excitement. During the day, one of those mischievous demonstrations had taken place which the working classes had lately commenced, with the object of intimidating persons of influence in or out of Parliament opposed to their pretensions as a new power in the State. This was a procession of working men, styling themselves the United Trades of the City of London, through the principal metropolitan

thoroughfares. Three individuals had obtained leave from Lord Melbourne to present an address to his Majesty at the levee, immediately after which a handbill was issued calling upon all the trades to accompany the deputation; a vast number presently assembled, and were permitted to follow out their intention.

The Duke of Wellington complained of the procession as illegal; and the effect it was likely to produce was shown by the arrest in the House of Lords of a man armed with dangerous weapons, who was committed to Newgate, to take his trial for an attempt to murder.

On the same day, in the Commons, Mr. Strutt presented a petition from working men at Derby, praying for a repeal of the stamp duty. The sentiments it expressed may be gathered from the following passage addressed to the popular Government: "You prevent the poor acquiring knowledge, and then punish them for what is the effect of ignorance. Leave us to ourselves, and we will educate ourselves." The cause of this outburst of indignation was—these Derby operatives had started a penny newspaper, intentionally to evade the stamp duty. The Stamp Office had given them notice that they were infringing the law, and the speculation was abandoned. The presentation of this petition was followed by a short debate on the duties upon sea-borne coals.

In the Lords, the following day, Lord Wyn-

ford brought forward his proposed motion on the state of the country with a speech that entered minutely into the subject. He ended with a motion for the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry. The Earl of Rosebery objected, because, as he said, he had confidence in the intention of the Government to remedy all existing evils. The Earl of Eldon was fully impressed with the necessity for such a Committee, and supported the motion. Lord King attacked the last speaker, and was against any inquiry. The Earls of Winchelsea and Stanhope also supported the motion.

The Earl of Radnor spoke against it, and stated, that if he had had a seat in the other House of Parliament, he should have voted for an impeachment of the late Government, for having caused the embarrassments under which the nation laboured. He was proceeding in a violent tone of declamation when he was called to order. On resuming his speech, Lord Radnor proceeded to state objections against the proposed Committee, and to state his confidence in the professions of Ministers.

The Duke of Wellington opposed the motion. He had not, he said, attempted to extenuate the dangerous condition of the country, but would most emphatically deny that it had any connexion with the late Government, or that it could in any way be said to originate in any portion of the policy pursued by him and his colleagues.

"No," added the Duke, "the dangers and dis-

turbances with which some districts of the country have been some time infested, have sprung from very different causes, among which the example—I will unhesitatingly say, the bad example—afforded by the neighbouring States has been the most influential, as it has been the most pernicious. This has been encouraged and heightened by the misrepresentations and false ideas that have been too generally circulated throughout the country, of the causes and the character of the unfortunate events which occurred last summer in an adjoining kingdom; and above all, by a want of knowledge on the part of the people of the real nature of those events, and of the mischiefs sure to follow from imitating them."[1]

This was, indeed, the true state of the case: the exciting pictures of the late revolt that had been sown broadcast over the kingdom, added to the constant abuse of the Duke of Wellington's Government by the ultra-Radicals, had driven the labouring classes from disaffection to riot; and the directors of the movement having succeeded in overthrowing one Ministry, thought they might carry on the game till they had got rid of all Government except such as should be under their own control.

The Duke of Wellington entered into a masterly exposition of the nature of the evils under which the country laboured: these, he said, were beyond the reach or control of any Administration.

[1] "Hansard," Third Series, i. 874.

He subsequently stated that he and his coadjutors had done all that was immediately within their power to relieve the people, and during last session had taken off taxation to the extent of 3,950,000*l.*

Earl Grey entered upon the subject at considerable length, denying the necessity of a Committee, but allowing, with the Duke of Wellington, that occurrences which had taken place in other countries had had some effect in aggravating the evils complained of, and had been taken advantage of by evil-disposed persons to operate on the minds of the unthinking or of the unhappy and discontented.

This was very different language to that employed by the speaker on a previous occasion when referring to the revolutionary demonstrations on the Continent. He, however, did not then feel the responsibilities of a Minister.

Lord Grey continued to animadvert on the proceedings of a section of his late supporters in strong terms. He said he hoped it would not be necessary to use the sword of the law further than for the punishment of those who instigated to outrage the simple and undesigning. He hoped that they would be brought to justice, and at the same time he trusted that everything would be done to remove that distress which had brought the people into such a temper that mischievous men could obtain an influence over their minds. Lord Grey acknowledged that he "concurred in a great part of the policy of the late Administration;" and attributed

the existing distress to bad measures that had been in operation since the American War and the first French Revolution.

The debate was continued by a few more speakers expressing their opinions *pro* and *con.*, but in the end the motion was negatived without a division.

On the same day, in the House of Commons, during the presentation of petitions for parliamentary reform, when Mr. O'Connell threatened to bring forward a motion if the Government delayed it, some personalities were indulged in between him and Sir Robert Wilson. Subsequently O'Gorman Mahon, on presenting a petition for repeal of the Union, complained of a personal attack. Then followed a long discussion on the grand juries of Ireland. Lord Althorp moved for a Select Committee to inquire into the salaries of public officers. This produced an animated debate, during which Sir Francis Burdett expressed his confidence in the good intentions of the present Administration. The motion was agreed to, and the Committee named.

Lord Althorp then moved the second reading of the Regency Bill, when Sir Charles Wetherell wished to add two clauses. The first related to the position of the Princess Victoria on the demise of the King, and was thus worded: "Her said Royal Highness shall be, and be deemed and taken to be, and is hereby declared to be, the actual Sovereign of these realms, subject to the limitation hereinafter

mentioned." The limitation existed only in the chance of the birth of a posthumous child, and the proposed clause ran thus: "That immediately on the birth of such child, the Sovereign title shall descend to him or her; and it is hereby declared that the Princess Victoria's right shall cease and determine; and that such child shall be, and shall be deemed and taken to be, and is hereby declared to be, the lawful Sovereign of these realms, in the same manner as if he had succeeded the Princess Victoria in the possession of the throne of these realms."[1]

It was not explained how this suppositious offspring was to succeed to—that is, to follow—when he or she must inevitably precede the existing heiress. The Bill, however, was read a second time and ordered to be committed the following day.

On the 10th of December, the Earl of Radnor, in the House of Lords, on presenting a petition, attacked the late Government. The Duke of Wellington defended it, and stated that the Poor Law Committee, which had often been put forward as a measure of the present Administration, had actually been consented to by himself and by his colleagues. The House then entered upon the subject of slavery in the colonies, when the Lord Chancellor attacked Lord Stanhope, who had in a previous speech ventured to make some reflections upon him.

On the same day, in the Commons, after

[1] "Hansard," Third Series, i. 955.

a number of small discussions on various subjects, Mr. Grove Price asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer if the Government had been aware of the intention of those large masses of the people that had accompanied the deputation to present the address to his Majesty at St. James's Palace, to form a procession in the midst of which was a revolutionary banner. Lord Althorp stated, it was not understood by the Secretary of State that any such demonstration would have been attempted when he granted permission for a deputation from the Trades Unions to present their address; he then spoke of the peaceable demeanour of the procession and of the harmlessness of the tricoloured flag. Sir Robert Peel doubted that such a flag had been borne by any member of the deputation, though he considered the assemblage of so numerous a body and its passage through the public thoroughfares illegal. Lord John Russell admitted that it was not legal. After a few words on the right of petitioning, the House resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, and subsequently went into Committee on the Regency Bill.

On the 11th of December, the time of the House of Commons was taken up by a discussion on the repeal of the Union, followed by the presentation of petitions on the subject. On the 13th, in the Lords, Lord Grosvenor made a speech respecting the conduct of the Ministers with reference to recent appointments, and moved for an

account of salaries of the clerks and officers of the House exceeding 1000*l.* The Marquis of Lansdowne explained the appointment of Mr. Bathurst as Clerk of the Council. He promised a reduction of some salaries, and said that retrenchment should always be a duty of his Majesty's Government, but that they would not sanction such a reduction as must prevent the public service being adequately performed.

The Duke of Wellington stated that it had been the intention of the late Ministry to reduce the salaries; explained to whom he had granted pensions when about to leave office, and proved their strict propriety. Earl Grey defended the appointments he had made, particularly those filled by members of his own family. After a few more observations the motion was agreed to.

The same day, in the Commons, one of the principal subjects debated was slavery in the West India colonies, the Marquis of Chandos having presented a petition from the planters, exposing the manner in which petitions had been got up in England for abolition, and praying for compensation for any loss or depreciation of their property that measure might occasion. He said the condition of the colonies called loudly for relief, and directed the serious attention of the Government to the subject. A good deal of declamation followed, but Mr. Macaulay stated that he thought, and believed the public thought, that compensation ought to be

given. He defended the Anti-Slavery Society, and deprecated party recrimination, recommending all persons to consider the question like statesmen and legislators. He felt confidence in the Government to bring it forward in a proper manner, but desired it to be considered temperately, avoiding all irritation, and with a sincere desire to come to a calm and deliberate decision that should do justice to every interest.

Sir Robert Peel said that it was impossible to overrate the enormous difficulties the question presented to the House, and also recommended caution and moderation of language. After referring to the violent tone in which one of the anti-slavery speakers had indulged (Mr. Fowell Buxton), he directed the attention of Parliament to the obstacles in the way of emancipation, and the mischiefs likely to arise from improper interference. He observed that such were a few of the evils which were likely to flow from intemperate expressions, and a too hasty compliance with the views of the abolitionists. He therefore entreated the House to pause until members could fairly approach the evils all ardently desired to see mitigated, but which never could be effectually dealt with unless they looked as much at the pecuniary rights of individuals, as to what was of greater importance, the permanent welfare of the slave.

Mr. O'Connell was opposed to granting compensation; and Lord Althorp thought every exertion

should be made to render the negro worthy of the station to which he would be raised by emancipation.

Another discussion took place on unnecessary places, which elicited attacks on the pension list from Mr. Hume and Mr. O'Connell, the last referring severely to recent judicial appointments in Ireland. Lord Althorp and Lord John Russell defended the Government. Mr. Hobhouse acknowledged that the late Ministers had gone as far in retrenchment as the corrupt system of the House of Commons and of the constitution of the Government had permitted them. The House then resolved itself into a Committee of Supply, and another debate ensued, in which reduction, the foreign policy of the country, and existing distress, were much dwelt upon.

On the 14th, Lord King made a speech against the Established Church, while presenting a petition respecting tithes. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Marquis of Bute defended the Church. Short discussions followed on repealing the duty on sea-borne coals, and on landlords' rights in Scotland. On the same day, in the Commons, there were various discussions on subjects of minor interest; the evils of the truck system taking up much the greater portion of the sitting; Mr. Littleton having moved to bring in a Bill to Consolidate and Amend the Laws relating to the Payment of Wages in Goods,

which passed by a majority of one hundred and forty.

On the following day there was a long debate on the magistracy of Ireland, but a motion on the subject brought forward by the O'Gorman Mahon was withdrawn. On the 16th, while other public business was proceeding, Mr. Trevor pointed out to the Attorney-General the mischievous character of a passage in *Cobbett's Register*. Mr. Hume then directed attention to a petition for reform in Church and State. The Marquis of Chandos moved that the Speaker do issue his warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out a *supersedeas* to the writ that had been issued for the election of two members for the borough of Evesham. This produced a long debate, but the motion was carried without opposition. It was followed by Mr. John Campbell, in a long speech, moving for leave to bring in a Bill for establishing a General Register for all Deeds and Instruments affecting real Property in England and Wales, which, after some observations, was granted. Sir E. Sugden then called the attention of the House to the administration of justice in the Court of Chancery, concluding with a motion. During his speech Mr. Hume indulged in a most improper interruption, which a subsequent explanation did not render more creditable to him.

The following day the House went into various subjects of temporary interest, and entered more fully into a consideration of the state of the labour-

ing population. Very little public business had made any progress in the House of Lords during the last few days, but on the 20th, the Lord Chancellor brought forward a motion for a return of the number of lunatics under his care, a return of the sums ordered for their maintenance, and an estimate of the total value of their estates. On the same day in the House of Commons the recent legal appointments in Ireland were again discussed; this was followed by an adjourned debate on the Court of Chancery. It produced no division, as there were not forty members present when the House was counted.

On the 21st a protracted debate occurred in the House of Commons on parliamentary reform, in which Mr. Hume was again called to order by the Speaker; there was also a discussion on the inconveniences of tithes, which was brought to a conclusion by counting the House. On the following day in the House of Lords speeches were made on the state of the country by Lord Farnham and Earl Grey. On the 23rd, Mr. A. Trevor directed the attention of the Lower House to the inflammatory language that had been published in *Cobbett's Register*. In the course of an able speech he referred to the opinions of "a noble and learned lord of high character in the other House" —Lord Grenville; but after some remarks from Mr. Bulwer and Lord Althorp, he withdrew the motion he had submitted to the House on the subject.

After one or two matters of minor interest had been disposed of, there arose a conversation on the pensions upon the Civil List, which was followed by two discussions on Irish measures, and some remarks on the claims of the Church of England.

The House then separated for the Christmas holidays, but very little public business of any importance had been forwarded since the commencement of the session, the time having been taken up by declamatory talk addressed to the lower classes.

The disturbances in the rural districts had been met by the Government with measures that showed some appreciation of the magnitude of the danger. A circular letter was issued by the Secretary of the Home Department, dated December 8th, addressed to the magistrates of various counties, calling upon them to act with energy and firmness in resisting all injurious and unreasonable demands, and in defending the rights of property against menace and violence of every description. Several special commissions were also issued for the purpose of trying rioters arrested for acts of destruction; many were tried, found guilty, and sentenced to transportation, and three convicted of arson were ordered for execution.

Thomas James Silk, who had been captured in the House of Lords with a loaded pistol, the barrel of which he had thrust against the cheek of the officer who had effected his arrest, and had attempted

to discharge it (the weapon fortunately flashed in the pan), was, on examination, found to be an Irishman, and was suspected of an intention to assassinate the Duke of Wellington. His conversation was full of sanguinary intentions, the result apparently of the inflammatory language that had so freely been circulated among the lower classes in England and Ireland. Among other statements he attributed the deaths at Waterloo to the vices of the great, who, he said, ought to be killed, and acknowledged that he had intended to destroy some of them, that the world might be reformed. He was tried on the 14th, at the Old Bailey, for attempting to shoot, acquitted on the ground of insanity, and was subsequently sent to Bethlehem Hospital.[1]

In Ireland the agitation for repeal was maintained with unabated spirit. Monster meetings were held, at which O'Connell presided, and the most insidious addresses were made to these assemblages by him, rarely without a suggestive reference to the recent revolutions abroad, or without the advice that

"They who'd be free, themselves must strike the blow!"

There was a large admixture of flattery respecting "the finest peasantry," and a constant quotation of Moore's lines about Ireland being

"The flow'r of the earth and the gem of the sea."

[1] "Annual Register."

The mischievous intention of these orations was understood by the Government; and a monster meeting having been announced to take place in Dublin, which was expected to bring together 150,000 excitable people, the Lord-Lieutenant issued a proclamation against it. The meeting, in consequence, was not held, and the Marquis of Anglesey was abused by the great agitator almost as much as the Duke of Wellington had been. In some parts of the country armed men assembled, as was stated, under the command of "Captain Rock" (a revived *sobriquet* of the Irish Rebellion), who broke into houses and plundered them of money and arms.

When we consider the simultaneousness of these agrarian disturbances in England and Ireland, their similarity of character, and the understanding that existed between the principal Irish and English demagogues, it is impossible not to come to the conclusion that they were acting in concert. Whilst this menacing coalition was proceeding, it will be seen by the debates that the leaders of the late and existing Governments drew closer together. The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel on several important occasions expressed themselves favourably towards Ministers, and Lord Grey and Lord Althorp referred to the proceedings of their predecessors in similar courteous terms.

The agitation that had been going on respecting slavery was only in a degree less mischievous.

Petitions were allowed to be signed by multitudes totally incompetent to judge of the effects of the measure they were made to appear intensely anxious to advance. Every parish received a circular from the Anti-Slavery Society; and the Wesleyan Methodists got up a thousand petitions, signed by 270,000 people, which, as a writer in the *Times* stated, was in reality the production of fifty individuals. It was, however, only the zealots that distinguished themselves by encouraging such proceedings: the statesmen of both the great political parties spoke and acted in a very different spirit.

The insurrectionary movement on the Continent had not terminated. It broke out with increased fury in Poland, where the Grand Duke Constantine, by the violence of his proceedings, had excited a general spirit of disaffection to Russian authority. A banquet having been given at Warsaw in honour of Kosciusko, which was attended by some of the students of the Military College of that city, he ordered several of them to be flogged, and others to be sent to prison. So arbitrary a sentence could scarcely fail to excite their fellow students, and the whole body rose in arms to protect them. This occurred on the 29th of November, and as the Russian Guards marched to attack the students, the Polish regiments proceeded to declare in their favour. A contest ensued in which the people shortly joined, and having obtained arms from the arsenals, helped to drive the Russian troops out of

the city. The result was a revival of Polish nationality.

The Emperor of Russia, however, was not disposed to part with one of the finest provinces of his empire, and threatened the revolters with the severest punishment. He made great preparations to get together an overwhelming armament, and the people of Poland, unprepared for so colossal a struggle, and without the slightest prospect of assistance from other countries, were left to wait the issue.

On the 28th of December, the Provisional Government of Belgium declared that their State should be constituted a kingdom divided into four territorial *arrondissements*, and that the Government should possess a Senate of Nobles and a Chamber of Deputies.

In the meantime the Government of France had been proceeding on a course which disappointed those who had most strongly insisted on the magnanimity of the French people; for they lent themselves to an unworthy animosity against individuals whose only crime was a faithful discharge of their duty. The feeling against the ex-Ministers was so strong, that it was feared a fresh revolution would be the consequence of any attempt at opposition, which might probably send the Citizen King once more to Switzerland or Twickenham. There was certainly a violent agitation in Paris, in which the students distinguished themselves so prominently that some were placed under arrest by the Minister

of War; much dissatisfaction was expressed, and to increase the popular discontent, Lafayette resigned his command of the National Guard, the Chamber of Deputies having voted it useless.

On the 21st of December, after a trial before the Chamber of Peers, sentence was pronounced against the four Ministers. They were found guilty of treason against the State, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, with forfeiture of titles, rank, and orders. On the evening of the 29th, they were removed from Vincennes to the Castle of Ham, shortly afterwards to be the residence of a much more distinguished prisoner. Prince Polignac, however, was to be incarcerated in the Castle of Mont St. Michel, in Normandy.

The opening of a new year was regarded by all parties in the United Kingdom as a period of preparation for a coming campaign. The Government were said to be engaged in producing a rash measure of parliamentary reform, that was to satisfy the expectations of their most exacting supporters; the Radicals were not idle; there were signs and omens abroad which could not be misinterpreted, indicating that unless the Whigs satisfied their political demands, their official existence would neither be long nor comfortable. The other great party maintained an attitude of observation; its leaders diligent in the performance of their public duties, and accepting their position as one of temporary risk only.

The popularity of King William, if it had suffered no abatement since his change of Government, had certainly not perceptibly increased. The fact is, the lower classes were not quite so carefully instructed in loyalty by the political publications that were addressed exclusively to them, as they were in their alleged rights and claims. Reform in England and repeal in Ireland were held out as sure precursors of cheap bread and increased wages, as well as an indefinite amount of independence, and all who should venture to oppose either were represented as tyrants and plunderers.

At this period it was interesting to know that the King was in confidential communication with his late Minister, whose great services to the country his Majesty was not likely to forget. His Grace also continued to maintain his old friendly intimacy with the Duke of Buckingham, writing to him without reserve his opinions on the course of events, and describing the character of the political prospect. It will be seen that he regards with a statesman's eye the difficulties of the position, and takes an important retrospect in which he shows his consciousness of what occasioned his own overthrow. The advice he gives towards the conclusion of his letter is, as usual, full of truth and good sense.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Apthorpe, Jan. 1, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I received your note at Winchester, but was not able to answer it. I must go there again on the 17th, in order to be present at a meeting of the Lieutenancy, and I must then place myself at the King's disposal, who has invited me to pass some days at Brighton in the end of the month. I am very much afraid, therefore, that I shall not have it in my power to wait upon you at Stowe.

I don't think that matters are much altered since I last communicated with you. I should think that the Government find it much more difficult to perform than it is to make promises, and that measures which appear very beneficial and very easy of attainment to men in Opposition, are not quite so easy to be carried into execution by an Administration.

I do not hear that they have positively decided upon anything, but their friends say that the measure of reform is to extinguish everything like the influence of family or property in every borough in the kingdom.

As for economy, I think that their estimate cannot exceed ours by a less sum than three hundred thousand pounds. As for peace, they have allowed France to arm. We may not be at war, but the rest of the world will, and possibly some kingdoms of Europe overthrown within a twelvemonth.

I confess that I have not observed anywhere any disposition actively to oppose this Government, excepting among a few who were in office under the last. We certainly dissatisfied our party by our Roman Catholic concessions, and that dissatisfaction ended by breaking us

down. I don't think that the dissatisfaction is removed. But whether it is the effect of the times, or the apprehension which men feel in consequence of the state of political opinion, or of the temper of the lower orders, I think that they are disposed to let things take their course—to allow this Administration to try what it can do, rather than risk the consequences of breaking it up to form another. There appears a sort of feverish anxiety in every man's mind about public affairs. No man can satisfy himself of the safety either of the country or of himself. But nobody wishes for, or has confidence in any change.

This being the case, I am convinced that it is the duty of those who wish to maintain things as they are in the country, to remain quiet, till they see real cause to take an active part. It is not only the wisest, but in reality the only practicable course.

It will not suit the activity of many. But I confess that, feeling as I do respecting the state of the public opinion, and particularly of that of our own party, I don't think that I could follow any other.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, &c., K.G.

The Marquis of Londonderry regarded the aspect of affairs from a different point of view, and betrays a soldier's impatience of inaction. In the opinion he expresses of the character of Sir Robert Peel he was not singular, though misled as to his alleged refusal to take office again under the Duke. Many a rising orator who had joined the ranks of that

able Minister has complained of want of encouragement from him. This communication is also curious for containing the first intimation of the possible organization of a Peel party, and the intended plan of proceedings of "the ultras."

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Belvoir Castle, Jan. 5, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I did not answer your last letter, as I had nothing of interest or importance to state, nor indeed have I at present sufficient to make a letter of mine worth receiving. But I should be sorry if, by any omission on my part, you could think me ungrateful for the kindness you showed towards me during the last year.

The D. of W. is here, with Arbuthnot, Shelley, and his usual associates. You will not suppose that we are very cordial, from the *finale* of his proceedings towards me; and indeed, from all I learn on every side, such is his loss of popularity and of the affection many bore him, to whom he demonstrated *none* at all, that I do not think it possible, in any change or under any circumstances, he can ever be Premier again. Besides, I hear from the very best authority, that Peel never would act under him as *chef* again. If this be so, the next consideration (if I turn from supporting Grey's views by his being overruled by the Radical particles of his Cabinet) appears to be, whether Peel is the man on whom I would place my political faith. In his character there is great coldness, apathy, and indifference to public life, and he rather assumes the post of Minister as a com-

pliment to the nation than views his possession of it as a proof of their confidence. I think these are bad qualities; and when I add to them the known fact that Peel *keeps down* all the young aspiring men, I do not think that he is a very alluring commander.

The ultras will, I hear, keep *en potence*, they being not strong enough to form alone a Government, either in talent or numbers. They will become powerful in the H. of C. by throwing their weight into Peel's ranks, or the Ministers', as they may deem best.

It appears to me that if there were means of bringing about a complete reconciliation between the ultras and Peel's party—a reconciliation founded on the necessity of a loyal and constitutional party adhering together—to which (by the bye) Grey might come, if forced by the Liberals—it would be the best *puissance conservative* for the next session.

Both the D. and Lord Grey are rather advancing; and I am really of opinion that, with your assistance, we might make a *rassemblement* that would claim some attention. These are my floating ideas which I have ventured to communicate; and pray let me hear from you confidentially here at your leisure.

Ever yours, my dear Duke, most truly,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

The two last letters form a striking contrast. The first cold and cautious; apparently the writer has contracted a distaste for any active interference in politics, but tells his correspondent that it is most prudent for the present to let things take their course. The latter is frank and ardent: the

writer hurriedly scans the political prospect, sees something hopeful in a new combination, and is for making a demonstration with as little delay as possible.

We do not think there will be any dispute as to whose suggestions were the best. The Duke saw that anything resembling an attack on the Government would consolidate its loose materials, and that the only policy was to wait till there came a natural disintegration, which was pretty sure to follow, sooner or later. The Marquis thought delays dangerous, and seems to have been averse to standing still while his opponents gave an opening for attack. We are fearful, however, knowing how things subsequently fell out, that his plan would not have answered. A party cannot become formidable without a leader of commanding reputation, and there does not appear to have been any one whom he could have put forward in that responsible position.

The prospect of an alliance between the ultras and Peel's party, on which the speculations for a new combination were based, was shadowy and remote. Therefore the reader will not be surprised to learn that the Duke of Buckingham did not give any very serious attention to his correspondent's invitation.

CHAPTER VIII.

[1831.]

SIGNS OF THE TIMES—FURTHER PROPOSALS FOR THE FORMATION OF A NEW PARTY—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S VIEWS ON THE ASPECT OF AFFAIRS—PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS—DISSATISFACTION CREATED BY THE NEW ARRANGEMENT OF THE CIVIL LIST—ORATOR HUNT IN PARLIAMENT—O'GORMAN MAHON—A PROPOSED TAX ON PROPERTY ABANDONED—COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY—MEETING OF LANDED PROPRIETORS AT BUCKINGHAM HOUSE.

CHAPTER VIII.

The signs of the times continued to be ominously significant. On the 9th of January sentence of death was pronounced against twenty-three persons for assisting to destroy a paper-machine in Dorsetshire. On the 11th, the same sentence was pronounced against three more for extortion, and against two for robbery; four received seven years' transportation for destroying machinery; two were sentenced to one year's, and two to three months' hard labour. At Norwich there were forty-five convictions; three at Ipswich; twenty-six at Petworth; and several at Oxford. At Gloucester seven criminals were transported for fourteen years, and twenty for seven years; one had three years' imprisonment; two, two years'; twelve were sentenced to a less term, and six were left for execution at Winchester; two were hanged on the 15th, as well as two at Salisbury on the 25th. Upwards of eight hundred offenders were brought to trial.

Meetings in favour of parliamentary reform were held in several counties in England, but voting by ballot was not generally encouraged. Carlile, the

notorious publisher of seditious and irreligious books, was on the 10th sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and to a fine of 200*l.*, for a libel tending to excite the agricultural labourers to riot and to the destruction of property. In Ireland similar measures were pursued to put down unlawful meetings. Several proclamations to this effect were issued by the Lord-Lieutenant; and on the 18th Mr. Daniel O'Connell was arrested for having attended a prohibited meeting, and was held to bail, himself in 1000*l.* with two sureties of 500*l.*, to appear at the Court of King's Bench on the first day of term.

Lord Londonderry still appears to have been desirous of establishing a separate party, on which subject he thus expresses his views.

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Tharington, Jan. 25, 1831.

My dear Duke,

I have heard lately that the Cabinet are agreed on a sweeping plan of reform; and a law against freedom from arrest and abolition of franking is to be carried. I confess all this alarms me, especially as I see little vigour of resistance abroad. From all I could learn at Belvoir of the Duke of W.'s course, it will be very *piano;* and Peel will evidently play the game of conciliation to the moderates of the Cabinet if they are likely to weather their gale. I can see nothing so advantageous for the country as the formation of a combined ultra and mode-

rate Tory party, where loyal and constitutional interests should be upheld, and without following either the mandate of the Duke or Peel. I could not help thinking good active working men would grow out of such a reunion, if young men of family in the H. of C. could be brought together.

There has been no attempt of late years of this nature. It has often been called factious, and neither the ultras nor the malcontents of the Duke of W.'s Government ever congregated to uphold an *esprit du corps*.

At this period, with the exception of Peel, there does not appear to be in the Lower House those commanding talents that should arrest young men's parts of speech. I may be wrong, but I cannot see why Lord —— and others in the H. of C., and your Grace and myself, might not bring a very tolerable phalanx together, if it should be so thought desirable; a phalanx that might, in the event of Lord Grey being overruled by the Liberals, and wanting a reinforcement upon a dismissal, come into communication with his lordship; or otherwise, if the new projects are persevered in by him, be of great importance as an opposing force. I state this proposition on two grounds (in which, however, I may be wrong); the one, that the Duke will be no rallying point, nor will he attempt to bring or keep people together; the other, that Peel would rather be called on by such a party to be their head or Minister, than work for it himself.

If my premises are mistaken, and if these *chefs* lay themselves out, well and good. But are we bound, if they do not, "to roll ourselves in our robes," as you say, and not to engage in what may be called *factious opposition*.

If my outline should be approved, I think your Grace

might talk to Beresford, and I to Eldon and Falmouth, and men of the description both of ultra and moderate Toryism, and I do think some foundation might speedily be laid.

I shall be in town the 1st or 2nd February.

Pray give me a line in answer to this to Middleton, Bicester.

Believe me, my dear Duke,
Ever yours most sincerely,
VANE LONDONDERRY.

The contingencies which the writer of the preceding communication required for the successful action of a new party, were not so probable as to induce his correspondent to respond to his suggestions. Earl Grey's disposition to go unresistingly with "the pressure from without" might be doubted, but his surrender of office to ally himself with the re-actionary party was far less probable. He may already have become dissatisfied with his position, and have begun to regard his more advanced colleagues with suspicion: but in the first place, too many interests would be affected by his resignation, to render the immediate contemplation of it at all likely; and in the next, he valued his character for consistency too highly, and was too fond of popular applause, to enter upon a course that threatened the sacrifice of both.

Nor do we think that Sir Robert Peel would have taken the lead in any party that did not include the Duke of Wellington. As for directing a

counteracting movement, for the purpose of recovering ground already lost, there are reasons for believing that he would not have entertained the idea; at least in the shape in which it must have been put before him. He appears to have been quite willing to do his best in opposition to the most alarming features in the proposed alterations of the constitution, but with an intention to temporize and conciliate, till he should find himself in a position to appeal for popular support with a change of his own, almost as extensive, but a little more safe.

It seems evident from the following communication, that the Duke of Buckingham had been attempting a reconciliation between the Duke of Wellington and the party of which Lord Londonderry may be regarded as the representative. It is clear, however, that with his characteristic shrewdness the Duke had anticipated their intentions, and declined the proffered alliance, nor would he be driven from the course he had determined to pursue. He would not sanction any compromise of principle. Not less clear is it that the King felt some distrust at the present aspect of affairs.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Strathfieldsaye, Jan. 26, 1831.

My dear Duke,

I did not answer your letter of the 4th. There is in

truth not much difference of opinion between us on the facts; there is a great deal on the course of conduct to be pursued, or rather on the time of adopting that course.

I am quite certain that the plans of the Government cannot be adopted without leading to the most disastrous results; and I hope, and I think I see reason to believe, that the good sense of the country is beginning to have its effect, and that we shall be enabled to get the better of these schemes.

But we must recollect how we stood in November. A majority in Parliament voted against the Government upon a question of the Civil List; the country was in a state of insanity about reform in Parliament; the Administration were under the necessity of resigning at an hour's notice, in order to prevent reform from being carried by storm; and the King was under the necessity of taking into his service Lord Grey and the Whigs.

Could we at that time commence an opposition? What is the legitimate object of an opposition? To deprive of power those men of whose measures, principles, and conduct we disapprove, in order that the Sovereign may be disposed to entrust with power those in whom we have confidence. I suppose that we have confidence in ourselves. But supposing that we had the offer of power to-morrow, could we accept it?

I must answer that question in the negative. We are not at this moment on better terms with our former friends than we were. I firmly believe that the majority of them prefer the Whigs to us. The reason is this, their objection to us is without reason, and personal. They must see that we were right and they wrong upon

the R. C. question; but they are angry with us for that very reason.

Then, I must add that there are difficulties in the way of the details of an accommodation with that party, which appear to me to render it impossible under existing circumstances. This being the case, I contend that nothing would be so unwise as for the King's late servants to enter upon an opposition, which must have the effect of uniting against them, in and with the existing Government, the persons composing the five parties by whose votes they were deprived of power in November.

Every day may produce an alteration. I certainly will not consent to any compromise of principle; I will oppose every measure which I may think revolutionary; but I cannot think that it would be right to commence a regular factious opposition at the present moment.

I found the King in tolerable health, but apparently very anxious about public affairs; he was relieved, however, from his anxiety about Hanover. I think that pains are taken to convince him that all is going on right, but his anxiety shows that he suspects the truth.

He was remarkably kind to me.

Believe me, my dear Duke,

Ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, &c.

Reports were now current that the new Government were unpopular at Court. This appears in some degree to have been the case. There were other causes that were considered to be exerting a

prejudicial influence against them. They were unquestionably in a critical position, between an increasing body of extreme Liberals whom they wished to disavow, and a still more influential party they desired to conciliate.

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Middleton, Jan. 30, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

Many thanks for your letter. It is possible I may be wrong in the conjectures I hazarded to you in my last communication, but still the channel from whence I derived the information was good. It was written by Irvine, the great capitalist, and by Lord Graham, in two separate letters to the D. of Rutland, and Littleton wrote to me the intelligence as to franking and the privilege of person. You have now my authority; *au reste*, some short time will now develop, and I shall be very glad to have personal communication with you on all these interesting points so soon as you arrive in town. I shall be there in a day or two, when possibly I may be able to observe things more closely.

With respect to the politics here, it is nothing but the Duke, the whole Duke, and nothing but the Duke.

Madame will hear of nothing but a complete turn out, and so unwise and impolitic are all the appointments of Lord Grey conceived, as well as his own conduct, as far as it can be judged of, that any coalition with him, if he should (upon being pressed too hard by the Liberals) desire it, is perfectly scouted.

It is rather asserted that the idol *will* show fight on

the first occasion. But my belief is, this is more wished than actually known.

I pity Anglesey; it must be sadly mortifying to be saved by the *Algerine Act!* of his opponents. His vanity has upset him with many of the Irish. He declared the first moment he set his foot in Ireland the country would be at his command! And how can he now blame those spirits unto whom he preached only *agitation, agitation.*

What a loss as a speaker to a party of the Duke's in the House of Lords, Lyndhurst will be! This is an additional proof to me the Duke of W. never means to be *Premier* again. Lord Ellenborough also will be tongue-tied in dread of the County Court Bill. I fear you will be very badly supported in attack.

But more of all this when we meet.

Believe me always, my dear Duke,

Yours very sincerely,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

Parliament resumed its sitting on the 3rd of February. Lord Londonderry in the House of Lords presented a petition for a repeal of the tax on sea-borne coals; Lord Grey another, praying for parliamentary reform; and the Earl of Darnley a third, on the same subject. In the House of Commons similar petitions were presented by Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor, Sir John Wrottesley, and Mr. Hume. Mr. Hunt, the Radical leader, had been elected for Preston, and brought forward petitions against tithes, for reform, for the aboli-

tion of the corn laws, for universal suffrage, and vote by ballot. Lord Althorp stated that the Government measure on parliamentary reform would be ready for consideration on the 1st of March, under the auspices of Lord John Russell; and announced some other measures. Mr. Hunt threatened to bring before Parliament the conduct of the Commissioners who had been sent by Government into the disturbed districts. The manner in which they had done their duty had given deadly offence to the Radicals, and their orators were obliged to express a large amount of indignation.

In the House of Lords on the following day the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Radnor, and the Earl of Rosslyn, presented petitions in favour of the one absorbing measure. Indeed, little else was done in either House. Mr. C. W. Wynn, however, brought his Bill for the Repeal of the Oaths of Abjuration a stage further. Lord Althorp then laid upon the table papers relating to the estimate for the future amount of charge upon the Civil List, with a long speech describing the reductions the Government proposed; in the course of which he stated that on the marriage of George III. the sum of 54,000*l.* had been granted to Queen Charlotte for jewels, besides an outfit; that the Princess Charlotte had a large grant allowed her on her marriage for her outfit; and that a like grant had been in contem-

plation for Queen Adelaide, but had been declined by the King.

Mr. Goulburn showed that very trifling diminution had been made in the estimates, as acknowledged by the last speaker, and stated that no candid man in the country could now refuse to render justice to the late Government on such satisfactory testimony that their estimates were neither exaggerated nor improper. He then proceeded to point out that by the new arrangements the Government contemplated paying, in two sums and out of two funds, what had hitherto been paid in one sum out of one fund.

Mr. Hume expressed himself dissatisfied, and threatened opposition in Committee, declaiming in his usual style against pensions. Mr. Hunt also expressed himself disappointed, and also denounced pensions at great length. Many other members expressed dissatisfaction; indeed, it was clear to the meanest capacity that the new Civil List was a delusion. Mr. Hume subsequently moved for returns of the pensions enjoyed by the junior branches of the royal family, by the household of George III. and George IV., and by State officials, and all his motions were agreed to.

Tithes and reform took up the attention of the House of Lords on the 7th, when the Civil List was again discussed in the House of Commons, as well as barilla duties, and the state of Ireland. On the following day the Lords had another debate

on tithes, the Commons being principally employed in listening to Mr. Hunt's threatened oration against the Government Commissioners. It proved rather an amusing narrative of the orator's personal adventures in the disturbed districts, with biographical sketches of some of the persons who had been engaged in the riots, whom he represented as more sinned against than sinning. He also furnished anecdotes of some of their employers, which represented them as extremely bloodthirsty and vindictive. He concluded with a motion recommending an amnesty, and Mr. Hume seconded it without a speech. Several members addressed themselves to the subject in succession, giving the House a totally different view of it; and when it came to a division, the mover and seconder were the only members who voted for the motion.

A similar illustration of popular opinion was given in an attack by O'Gorman Mahon on the proclamations of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, during which he was repeatedly called to order by the Speaker, only to fall into greater disorder after every shch interposition. He was threatened with the usual penalties, when he calmed down a little, but only to burst forth into a long harangue, made up of exaggerations, that kept the House in a constant roar of laughter. The gist of it was, that Mr. O'Connell had been threatened with imprisonment, and that such a proceeding was likely to be attended by the most terrible consequences.

Lord Althorp and Sir Robert Peel treated these denunciations as they deserved; the latter, in the course of a spirited speech, expressing his intention to support the Government, which avowal was much commended by Lord Palmerston and other members of the House. Mr. Hume and Mr. Hunt supported O'Gorman Mahon and Mr. O'Connell, but Sir Francis Burdett expressed some severe strictures on both. On the 9th the House was entertained with a discussion on O'Connell, of a much milder character.

The following day, in the Lords, the Duke of Buckingham presented a petition from the merchants of Dublin, praying that the question of the emancipation of the slaves in our colonies might be treated by that House with caution and deliberation. The Duke agreed to the prayer of the petition, and said that neither himself nor the petitioners advocated slavery. He thought, with them, that too much care could not be taken in giving to men in the state of the slave population of the West Indies, rights which then they were totally incapable of using properly.

Lord Radnor, on presenting two petitions from Ireland for repeal of the Union, said it was perfectly unaccountable to him how any persons could expect good from such a measure. The Marquis of Londonderry expressed his gratification at hearing such sentiments, which, he stated, were shared by all persons of intelligence in Ireland. These

petitions having been examined, all the signatures were discovered to be in the same handwriting, except the first two. Then Lord King commenced a debate on tithes while presenting a petition, as his lordship avowed, on that subject; but on one of the Peers requiring that it should be read, it proved to be for a repeal of the assessed taxes.

Some attacks having been made on the conduct of the clergy, the Duke of Buckingham dwelt on the impropriety of carrying on such incidental discussions. With respect to religion, he said he left that to be settled between every man and his conscience. His own object was the amelioration of the Church of England, the clergy of which had as much right to their property as the noble lord who had commenced the debate had to his estate; and if such property were taken away, he acknowledged that he knew not by what mode he could maintain possession of his own.

On the same day the House of Commons discussed, among other subjects, the regulations of Fisherton Gaol and the Recordership of Dublin. On the day following there were speeches on reform in the House of Lords from Lord Farnham and Earl Grey—the former asking for information on the Government measure, the latter declining to give it. In the other House, tithes and the state of Ireland (with O'Gorman Mahon as usual called to order by the Speaker) preceded a long debate on

the Budget, which Lord Althorp commenced. Many grave objections were urged against his propositions, particularly to a tax on the transfer of funded property, by Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Goulburn. That Mr. Hunt should be dissatisfied with the small amount of taxation reduced was a matter of course. There was, however, no serious opposition.

On the 14th, after the usual petitions, the Duke of Buckingham, alluding to the proposed tax, gave notice that he should direct the attention of the House to it when the Bill came before them, as he considered it a breach of faith with the public creditor, and was sorry also to feel obliged to consider it of a most mischievous character. Lord Grey stated that there would be no such tax and no such Bill, the Government having abandoned the idea of raising money in that way. The Marquis of Londonderry thought Lord Grey incapable of imposing a revolutionary tax, and seemed to be in favour of such an attempt to make the fund-holder contribute to the public burdens.

The Duke of Buckingham congratulated the House on the abandonment by the Government of this objectionable feature in their plan of finance. The Lord Chancellor, Lord Ellenborough, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and Lord Farnham spoke on the same subject. A debate followed Lord King's moving for a return of the resident and non-resident clergy.

In the House of Commons the question was asked whether a vessel with false papers, having on board several stands of arms, had been seized in the Shannon, and if a compromise had been entered into by the Government with Mr. O'Connell. Mr. Stanley replied that such a vessel had been seized, and was now in the possession of the Preventive Service, and that no compromise with Mr. O'Connell had been permitted.

The report on the Budget was then brought up, with a revised plan by Lord Althorp. It was much discussed during a very long debate, and Mr. Hunt being interrupted in one of his rambling orations by the usual cries of "Question," moved an adjournment; but there was no division.

In the discussion in the House of Peers on the proposal of the Government to raise a tax on the transfer of funded property, the Marquis of Londonderry had expressed sentiments quite opposed to those immediately before spoken by the Duke of Buckingham. The Duke did not invite him to a consultation of landed proprietors held at his town-house about this time. Hence the following letters:—

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Holderness House, February 12, at night.

My dear Duke,

I hear you have been canvassing for the meeting of

the landed interests, &c., at your house to-morrow; and a Tory *county member* informed me he had been asked, but would not attend. As you have not acquainted me of this intention after our confidential communications, from which I rather inferred you would not take a measure of this sort without telling me, I conclude that you have changed your sentiments as to our attempting together any common purpose. I regret this the more, as the object for the country should be an endeavour at union of independent men, rather than further separation. Of course, as I have heard only from report of this intended meeting, you will not think I have departed from anything that has passed between us in private.

I should not act so openly and fairly as I have done with you hitherto, if I did not candidly state what has this evening come to my knowledge.

Believe me, my dear Duke,

Yours ever most truly,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Holderness House, February 13, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I was anxious to see some friends, and hence the delay in answering your note. The more I see, the more I consider it expedient that those who are not in the present Government should not at this early period be split up in various factions, which partial meetings would denote. *Your* former chiefs evidently throw a damp sheet on any effort at opposition. If they don't encourage it, those who were independent of them, as

well as of the present men, ought not voluntarily in these early days to plunge into it; and I really understood that such was your opinion, at least until you had seen the D. of W.; and hence my surprise at hearing from one of my friends, a north county member, that he had been canvassed and would not go. I know there is a great cry in the City against the per centage on funded and landed transfers; but, as yet, we cannot pronounce what the sentiments of the country at large will be.

I have had an immense boon on coals, which I have laboured for for three years, and with the Duke and Goulburn never got on a peg. To this I cannot be insensible, and I am sure your candid mind will admit, it is reasonable ground for me to pause and to remain in an entirely neutral position until a further development of all the measures of the Government takes place.

Besides, if we meet, under whose lead, or by what leaders in the Commons, are we to resist the measures you deem revolutionary? Can you name any individuals of calibre or influence unto whom myself and friends are to give our political adhesion, in case this Government is broken up? I see Beresford, Westmoreland, D. of Cumberland, and even Beaufort and Rutland, all keep aloof. Under such view, time may produce a crisis, but I question if the present moment is ripe for any decision whatsoever.

Ever yours, very sincerely,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Holderness House, February 14, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I beg you will be persuaded that I never questioned the expediency of your adopting any line you thought proper and conducive to the public interest. But as we had long discussed co-operation, and as I left you on Friday with an understanding that you had abandoned any attempt at a meeting until you had seen the D. of W., as also your idea of any notice in the H. of Lords, I was certainly surprised to hear from Bell of Northumberland, of an invitation to go to Buckingham House, and hence arose my correspondence, as I thought you would (after all that had passed between us) have made me a direct and immediate communication, if you had changed your purpose.

I will look in upon you and take my chance of seeing you this morning.

Au reste, the times are very difficult, my position different from yours; and it is very probable, that whatever my humble efforts at co-operation might be, in case of success, the same treatment as heretofore would be extended towards me.

Ever yours, most truly,

VANE LONDONDERRY.

All that can be gathered from the preceding letters is that the writer had found himself favoured by the Government by their passing a measure which he knew would be a special benefit to all classes of the community. He therefore does not

advocate the organization of a new party for active opposition—indeed, now inquires who is to be its leader; and in the end expresses uncertainty as to what would be the feeling towards him of the Duke of Wellington in case his efforts at co-operation should be successful. Nothing could be more natural than such expressions of hesitation to show hostility to Ministers immediately after they had conferred, unasked, a boon for which he had urged his political friends in vain.

It is evident, also, that the Duke of Buckingham had been in personal communication with the Duke of Wellington, and that they were in accord in the policy that had called the meeting of landed proprietors. It is also obvious that they agreed as to the uselessness of any organized opposition to the Government, though they might maintain a jealous watch over their measures.

CHAPTER IX.

[1831.]

SUPPOSED UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN MR. O'CONNELL AND THE GOVERNMENT—HE AND HIS ASSOCIATES, AFTER PLEADING GUILTY, ESCAPE PUNISHMENT—PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS—SIR ROBERT PEEL SUPPORTS THE GOVERNMENT—THE MINISTERIAL PLAN OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM—THE REFORM BILLS OF 1831 AND 1860—MR. MACAULAY ON REFORM—SPEECH OF SIR ROBERT PEEL—STATE OF THE CONTINENT—THE SIX DAYS' DEBATE—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S OPINION OF THE REFORM BILL.

CHAPTER IX.

The trial of Mr. Daniel O'Connell and his associates had taken place. They had pleaded guilty to fourteen counts of an indictment that charged them with holding political meetings contrary to the proclamations of the Lord-Lieutenant. They suffered judgment to go by default. This would enable the Crown to bring them up for sentence next term; but the proceeding seems to have been perfectly understood by both parties, for before the expiration of the intervening time the Act under which the conviction was made expired, and they were permitted to evade their sentence.

A meeting had been held of the bankers, merchants, and traders of Dublin, to present an address to the Marquis of Anglesey, expressive of confidence and promising support; notwithstanding which, however, it was notorious that the population of Ireland generally was very far from feeling a cordial appreciation of his administration, while O'Connell was levying contributions throughout the island for

his own advantage, and spreading disaffection to the Imperial Government far and wide among the uneducated peasantry. How they understood the nature of the measure they were made to appear enthusiastically determined to carry, may be gathered from a demand one indignant Milesian was heard to make—"Why don't they give us the Repale they took from us?"

On the 15th, in the House of Lords, the Earl of Shrewsbury, while presenting some petitions for repeal of the Union, ventured to state that the late Government was an Administration avowedly hostile to Ireland. This elicited an indignant denial from the Duke of Wellington. On the same day, in the Commons, there was a conversation respecting two different Game Bills then before the House. A long discussion followed on trade and manufactures. Subsequently Lord Althorp laid before the House papers relating to expenses for Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle, which produced from Messrs. Hume and Hunt the usual declarations against extravagance. Lord Althorp then brought forward his motion on the Game Laws, and although many objections were made to it, it was read a first time.

On the following day the House was employed discussing reform, tithes, employment of the poor, and the proceedings of the Irish Government. On the last subject Mr. Stanley repeated his declaration that there had been no compromise with Mr.

O'Connell. The House then considered several questions of taxation. In the House of Lords, on the 17th, Lord Ellenborough moved for returns respecting the new taxes: a discussion followed on the timber trade. The same day, in the Commons, there arose a conversation, in which it was stated that the corrupt state of the borough of Evesham demanded the serious attention of Parliament. Various members spoke on the subject, and the motion was supported by Sir Robert Peel. Afterwards several questions of temporary interest were discussed.

On the 18th the Duke of Wellington directed the attention of Government to abuses in the coal-trade of the City of London. Earl Grey stated that the subject was under the consideration of his colleagues, and that the duty levied for the purpose of building the new London Bridge was only of a temporary nature. The Marquis of Londonderry expressed gratitude to the Government for relieving the people from a tax on such a necessary article as coals, and hoped the Duke of Wellington would support the Bill on the subject about to be brought before Parliament. He said that the Duke of Wellington had appeared to him to evince a decided disinclination in committee to relieve the coal trade of the duty of six shillings per chaldron, and complimented Ministers on their evident intention to benefit the labouring and industrious classes.

Some observations followed respecting Greece, Scotland, reform petitions, and the Ministerial plans.

In the House of Commons on the same day, a Bill respecting the borough of Evesham was read a first time. It was moved that a copy of it should be served on the returning officer and on the High Bailiff of Birmingham; the motion included a list of the voters, and that the Speaker do issue his warrant to bring the late members and other persons before the House to give evidence on the Bill. Though Mr. Hume, Mr. O'Connell, and Mr. Hunt appeared disinclined to the measure, and other members were desirous of its postponement, leave was given for the examination of witnesses on the 7th of March.

This was succeeded by debates on distress in Ireland, on Canada, and on Belgium. The last was prefaced by Mr. Hume with a long speech on the necessity of retrenchment, particularly urging the cutting down the military establishments of the country. He then gave a relation of the recent proceedings in Belgium, and ended by moving for copies of all the protocols of the Congress of the Five Powers held in London, respecting the affairs of that country since last October.

Lord Palmerston replied, stating the course the Government had pursued. Lord Althorp also defended the policy of Ministers. Sir Robert Peel opposed the motion, and with respect to the large

armaments known to be preparing in France, stated his conviction that if unjust ambition should tempt that country to enlarge the limits of her empire—if she should be urged on by the recollections of the victories of Napoleon, and a military faction should prevail over the good sense of the nation—that Europe, united in a just cause, would resist her successfully, and teach her it was not her interest to provoke war. In continuation he referred to the policy of the present Government as exhibiting no material difference from that of the last; saying very happily, "the present Ministers had killed their opponents, and had immediately entered into possession of all their doctrines." In conclusion he said—

"He would repeat his declaration, that he should feel ashamed of himself if he permitted any personal feelings—any jealousy—or any political hostility to interfere with the cordial support which he felt it necessary, on all proper occasions, to give to his Majesty's Government. It was the more agreeable to him to be enabled to do so, because, from the course the present Ministers were pursuing, though they had dispossessed him of place on the ground of not following out retrenchments, on that point, and as respected our foreign policy, there was no difference between him and them, and he had nothing to complain of in their conduct. He hoped on that more serious subject, parliamentary

reform, when they came to take it up, that they would have the like regard to the interest and honour of the country, and act on the same faith and honourable principles; and that they would not propose, induced by the taunts of Mr. Hume and his political associates, any measure for the consideration of the House pregnant with immediate or contingent prejudice to the institutions of this great country, or dangerous to the public welfare, over which it was their bounden duty to watch."[1]

On the 21st, there was a debate in the House of Lords on a report made by the Archbishop of Dublin to the Lord-Lieutenant and Privy Council of Ireland, to obtain their sanction to the Union of Wicklow; which was followed by another on the commercial relations of this country with Portugal. On the same day, in the Commons, after other business, the attention of the House was directed to the distress existing in the West Indies, and it was stated that something ought to be done for the relief of those who were suffering.

Lord Althorp admitted that the state of those colonies demanded serious attention, but objected to the proposal. Sir Robert Peel averred that the moral and physical condition of the slaves would be most effectually improved by promoting the

[1] "Hansard," Third Series, ii. 711.

welfare of the planters; and that the true way to raise the condition of the former was to restore prosperity to the colonies in which they were employed.

The army estimates then came under consideration, and the debate was enlivened by the personalities Mr. O'Connell invariably indulged in, when any reference was made to his proceedings. Mr. Hume called loudly for reduction; and Mr. Hunt made a rambling discourse in favour of vote by ballot, and ended by moving a reduction of 10,000 men from the estimate required, on which he divided the House. The announcement of his being in a minority of six rewarded his exertions.

In the House of Lords, on the 22nd, the Marquis of Londonderry objected to the name of the Sovereign having been put forward as favouring the Government scheme of reform, when the Lord Chancellor averred that the proposed measure had received his Majesty's sanction. Lord Londonderry then expressed a hope that it would do as much good and as little evil as possible. Subsequently the Lord Chancellor occupied the attention of the House with his plan for a reform of the Court of Chancery; and brought in three Bills, one of which was read a first time.

In the other House, there was a debate on emigration, and another on tithes in Ireland, on a

motion of Mr. Ruthven, which, being brought to a division, left him in a minority of *one*.

On the 23rd, the House of Commons had a debate on the Lord Chancellor and Commissioners in Lunacy. On the 25th, the Lords considered the proposed Chancery reforms, when the second Bill was read a first time. On the same day, in the Commons, there was a debate on the navy estimates, in which Mr. Hume figured prominently on the subject of retrenchment. Mr. Hunt supported him, but there was no division. On the following day, Lord Althorp presented a hundred petitions for parliamentary reform, some praying for vote by ballot; and many more were presented by other members.

On the 28th, in the House of Lords, there were slight discussions on the new police, distress in Ireland, reform, tithes, and distress in the agricultural districts of England. The same day there was a debate in the Commons referring to the Irish Government and Mr. O'Connell, which the latter not only commenced, but in another speech continued a further justification of his proceedings. Lord Althorp, however, thought that no man who had read his speeches could doubt that they were calculated to excite sedition.

Much of the time of the House was subsequently taken up by proceedings against a person who had been taken into custody for having interrupted from

the gallery some assertions of Mr. O'Connell with a rude denial. He somewhat reluctantly made an apology; but neither Lord Althorp nor Sir Robert Peel considered it sufficient, though Mr. O'Connell appeared satisfied; and Alexander Jacob was sent to Newgate on the Speaker's warrant.

The 1st of March had been long looked forwarded to, by all classes of politicians, as bringing with it the great event of the session. It was the day appointed for the explanation of the Ministerial plan of parliamentary reform. For the last two or three weeks the excitement prevailing in the public mind was declared by a multitude of petitions, signed by such masses of petitioners as had never before been persuaded to put their names to any document. Monster meetings had been held in various parts of the country, and demonstrations of every kind resorted to to show the extent to which the nation felt interested in this measure. The lower classes appear to have been most urgently appealed to, and they most prominently responded; while the more educated portion of the community seemed either much less excited on the subject, or less ready to appreciate the incalculable advantages the measure was to bring upon the nation.

There was no question, however, but that reform came on with the stride of a giant, apparently capable of bearing down every obstacle to its progress. Never had a popular movement appeared so

popular. Never had a Government measure so large and active a body of supporters. The new police were forgotten, and the punishments inflicted on the agricultural rioters ignored. The people would see nothing but reform, and the dazzling nature of this grand effort at legislation threw such a halo upon those who were entrusted with its production as apparently to blind the spectators to all other political objects. It not only illumined the characters of the Ministers, but gave them that shadowy exaggeration that sometimes affects very ordinary objects in mountainous districts.

It is scarcely possible to imagine the extent of this delusion without comparing the advent of the Reform Bill of March, 1831, with that of March, 1860. The distance that is said "to lend enchantment to the view" was now wanting—the object had been regarded closely for a considerable period, and its picturesque attractions had totally vanished.

The reform of 1831 was announced as a political panacea. It professed to remedy all the diseases that were said to afflict our constitution. It was to put the entire system into a state of such robust health, that no other medicine need be thought of. Yet we have lived to witness a striking proof of the fallacy of these professions; for in less than thirty years, the "final measure," as it was styled, was sought to be superseded by an entirely new reform.

Lord John Russell addressed the Speaker at great length preliminary to his moving for leave to bring in a Bill for amending the state of the representation of England and Wales, explaining the intentions of the Government, and describing the features of their measure. He said that Ministers desired to place themselves between two hostile parties; neither agreeing with "the bigotry" of one, that no reform is necessary, nor with the fanaticism of the other, that only some particular kind of reform could by any means be satisfactory to the people; and that they took their stand on firm ground between abuses they wished to amend, and convulsions they hoped to avert.

He then went slightly into the historical features of the question, and subsequently looked at it as one of reason. This was to refer to exceptional cases as a true picture of the usual method of election. Having dwelt on these, he proceeded to state that his Bill was intended to restrict forty-seven boroughs to send one member to Parliament that had hitherto sent two; to deprive another place that returned four, of half its members, and to disfranchise sixty entirely; thus making one hundred and sixty-eight vacancies.

The Bill was to extend the franchise in counties to copyholders of ten pounds a-year, and in towns to householders paying the same rent. Seven large towns not represented were to send two members each; and twenty others one member each; the

Metropolis was to return eight, and two additional members were to be given to twenty-seven counties, with one to the Isle of Wight. Arrangements were to be made for expediting elections. The boroughs to be partly and entirely disfranchised were then named. Five additional members were to be given to Scotland, three to Ireland, and one to Wales; and the measure was to increase the number of voters to half a million.

The speaker then proceeded to state that there was no intention to shorten the duration of Parliament, nor to recommend vote by ballot. Subsequently he entered upon the subject of the influence of landed property in elections, when he acknowledged that, "wherever the aristocracy reside, receiving large incomes, performing important duties, relieving the poor by charity, and evincing private worth and public virtue, it is not in human nature that they should not possess a great influence on public opinion, and have an equal weight in electing persons to serve their country in Parliament."[1]

Nevertheless, he proceeded to find fault with such members of this particular body as were known to be the opponents of the Government. He said that it had become a question whether the constitution would not perish if reform were deferred, and appealed to the aristocracy and to the gentry to

[1] "Hansard," New Series, ii. 1086.

assist him in preventing this dissolution. He referred to the vigorous exertions of his colleagues to put down disturbances, and professed to see total disinterestedness in their assisting to produce the measure before the House.

Sir Robert Harry Inglis made an able reply, in which he minutely exposed all the fallacies of Lord John Russell by producing historical data and political facts. He defended the system of representation that permitted young men of talent to enter Parliament without the necessity of mob patronage, or the profession of mob oratory. He proved that by this channel had entered Chatham, Pitt, Fox, Burke, Canning, Wyndham, Brougham, and Romilly. He then analysed the clamour that had been got up about corruption and popular rights; showed the mischievous tendency of the proposed arrangements, and ended by opposing the measure; as the principle upon which the reform was to be made was unrecognised in any era in the history of the House of Commons.

He opposed it, because it diminished those influences within it that had always existed, and which then were essential to the balance of the constitution. He opposed it, because against this assemblage no charge had been proved or even made; because the influence of the Crown and that of the aristocracy, and that of money, places, and party, were never less than at present. Nor did he believe that the people of England were pre-

pared for the threatened change, or were really dissatisfied with their institutions.

Sir C. E. Smith and Lord Althorp defended the measure, and Mr. Horace Twiss and Lord Francis Leveson Gower opposed it. Their speeches completed the first day's debate.

The second took place on the following day. Messrs. O'Connell, Hume, and Hunt strongly commended the Ministerial plan of reform. The most effective speech was made on behalf of the Government, by Mr., subsequently Lord, Macaulay, who congratulated reformers on their unanimity. The conclusion may be regarded as a fair specimen of his style of oratory. "Turn where we may," he said, "within—around—the voice of great events is proclaiming to us, Reform! that ye may preserve! Now, therefore, while everything at home and abroad forebodes ruin to those who persist in a hopeless struggle against the spirit of the age; now, while the crash of the proudest throne of the Continent is still resounding in our ears—now, while the roof of a British palace affords an ignominious shelter to the exiled heir of forty kings—now, while we see on every side ancient institutions subverted, and great societies dissolved—now, while the heart of England is still sound—now, while the old feelings and the old associations retain a power and a charm which may too soon pass away—now, in this your accepted time—now, in this year of your salvation, take counsel, not of prejudice, not of party

spirit, not of the ignominious pride of fatal consistency, but of history, of reason, of the ages which are past, of the signs of this portentous time."

He added: "Renew the youth of the State. Save property divided against itself. Save the multitude, endangered by their own ungovernable passions. Save the aristocracy, endangered by its own unpopular power. Save the greatest, and fairest, and most highly civilized community that ever existed from calamities that may in a few days sweep away all the rich heritage of so many ages of wisdom and glory. The danger is terrible," he said, "the time short. If this Bill should be rejected, I pray to God that none of those who concur in rejecting it may ever remember their votes with unavailing regret, amidst the wreck of lands, the confusion of ranks, the spoliation of property, and the dissolution of social order."[1]

Such was the kind of appeal employed by one of the greatest orators of his age to forward this measure. Lord Mahon replied, with statesman-like skill. Several other able speeches were made on each side of the House, without, however, eliciting anything worthy of remark or quotation.

The same day, in the House of Lords, after some

[1] "Hansard," Third Series, ii. 1204.

remarks had been uttered by the Duke of Wellington respecting charges that had been made against members of the late Administration, the Secretary for the Colonies was asked whether he intended bringing forward any accusation against his predecessor. Lord King explained that he had not accused the late Secretary of malversation, though abuses had existed during his administration. The Duke of Buckingham said that the noble baron had certainly brought a charge against the Admiralty, which, in the absence of the late First Lord, had better have been deferred. Lord King made another attempt at explanation, which induced the Duke of Wellington to remark, that the charge ought not to have been made. Finally, Lord Goderich having stated that he did not intend to bring forward any charge respecting malversation in the colonial department of the late Administration, no further observation on the subject was made.

The following day, in the House of Commons, a lively discussion followed a motion made by Lord John Russell for population returns of cities and boroughs. Then the adjourned debate was continued. Several speeches were made; on the Government side they were generally characterized by appeals to popular feelings, and by allusions to the difficulty experienced by existing Sovereigns to maintain their own dominions. The most eloquent display was the speech of Sir Robert

Peel. He began by calling attention to the unfair contrast that had been made of the present Government and the last. He alluded to the difficulties under which the late Administration laboured, and showed that had Mr. Canning survived, he would have opposed the sweeping change the House was now considering. He then gave a masterly exposition of the proposed Bill and of its effects, in the course of which he said:—

"The constitution of this country is not written down like that of some of our neighbours. I know not where to look for it, except in the division into King, Lords, and Commons, and in the composition of this House, which has long been the supreme body of the State. The composition of this House by representatives of counties, cities, and boroughs, I take to be an intimate part of our constitution. The House was so formed when they passed the Habeas Corpus Act—a law which, together with other wise laws, Mr. Cobbett himself desires to preserve, although, with strange inconsistency, whilst he cherishes the fruit, he would cut down the tree. The House was constituted on the same principle of counties, cities, and boroughs, when Montesquieu pronounced it to be the most perfect in the world. Old Sarum existed when Somers and the great men of the revolution established our Government. Rutland sent as many members as Yorkshire when Hampden lost his life in defence of the constitution.

Are we, then, to conclude that Montesquieu praised a corrupt oligarchy—that Somers and the great men of that day expelled a king in order to set up a many-headed tyranny—that Hampden sacrificed his life for the interests of a borough-mongering faction?"

"No," added he, emphatically; "the principles of this House are pure and worthy. If we should endeavour to change them altogether, we should commit the folly of the servant in the story of Aladdin, who was deceived by the cry of 'new lamps for old.' Our lamp is covered with dirt and rubbish, but it has a magical power. It has raised up a smiling land, not bestrode with overgrown palaces, but covered with thick-set dwellings, every one of which holds a free man, enjoying equal privileges and equal protection with the proudest subject in the land. It has called into life all the busy creations of commercial prosperity."

Subsequently he defended the condemned boroughs, and enumerated the men of the highest intellectual eminence who had been indebted to them for their parliamentary position. They included Dunning, Lord North, Charles Townshend, Burke, Fox, Pitt, Lord Grenville, Sheridan, Windham, Perceval, Lord Wellesley, Lord Plunket, Canning, Huskisson, Brougham, Horner, Romilly, Tierney, Sir William Grant, Lord Liverpool, Lord Castlereagh, and Lord Grey.

Reference having constantly been made to the late revolutionary movement on the Continent, he said in conclusion, "I, too, refer to the condition of France, and I hold up the late revolution, not as an example, but as a warning to this country. Granted that the resistance to authority was just, but look at the effects—on the national prosperity—on industry—on individual happiness—even of just resistance. Let us never be tempted to resign the well-tempered freedom which we enjoy, in the ridiculous pursuit of the wild liberty which France has established. What avails that liberty which has neither justice nor wisdom for its companions —which neither brings peace nor prosperity in its train? It was the duty of the King's Government to abstain from agitating this question at such a period as the present—to abstain from the excitement throughout the land of that conflict (God grant it may only be a moral conflict!) which may arise between the possessors of existing privileges and those to whom they are to be transferred. It was the duty of the Government to calm, not to stimulate, the fever of popular excitement. They have adopted a different course—they have sent through the land the firebrand of agitation; and no one can now recal it. Let us hope that there are limits to their powers of mischief. They have, like the giant enemy of the Philistines, lighted three hundred brands, and scattered through the country discord and dismay; but God forbid that they

should, like him, have the power to concentrate in death all the energies that belong to life, and to signalize their own destruction by bowing to the earth the pillars of that sacred edifice which contains within its walls, according even to their own admission, 'the noblest society of freemen in the world.'"[1]

This was as forcible as it was true; indeed, the whole speech, which was one of the finest of those truly Ciceronean orations that established Sir Robert Peel's celebrity as one of the greatest orators of ancient or modern times, showed the superiority of argument over declamation.

In the meantime, the effects of the revolutionary movements in foreign countries were most deplorable. A series of sanguinary battles had been fought, particularly one on the 20th of April at Gronchow, near Warsaw, between the Polish and Russian armies, without any decisive result. Belgium continued to be without a settled form of Government, Louis Philippe having failed in establishing his son, the Duc de Nemours, on the vacant throne. His own Government seemed daily losing ground in popularity; and angry discussions had arisen in the Chamber of Deputies, which forced the King to dissolve it. A new Ministry had been appointed. General Lafayette and the extreme party had shown themselves desirous that France should interfere

[1] "Hansard," Third Series, ii. 1354.

both in Poland and Italy; but the Government appeared to be in favour of neutrality.

Insurrections had taken place at Bologna and Modena. In the latter city the palace of the Duke had been destroyed. Parma and the Legations joined in the movement. Austria marched a military force into the disturbed districts, and after one brief conflict took possession of Modena, Bologna, and Parma.

In England, orators continued to bid for popularity at public meetings got up in favour of the Reform Bill, by expressing the necessity of hostile demonstrations in case the Government measure should be lost. The state of Ireland grew more and more deplorable; Whiteboy outrages being frequent.

On the 3rd of March, when the Lord Chancellor was presenting reform petitions, it having been asked if they prayed for the ballot, the reply was in the negative. A discussion followed on the repeal of the Union, when Lord Grey stigmatized the agitation that had been got up on the subject as most pernicious to Ireland. The Duke of Wellington having inquired if Ministers intended to renew the law giving the Lord Lieutenant powers to suppress illegal meetings by proclamation, Earl Grey answered that such was their intention.

The fourth day's debate on the Reform Bill in the House of Commons produced several long

speeches on each side of the question, but nothing new was elicited. On the 7th, in the House of Lords, the Duke of Sussex, while presenting a petition for reform, expressed himself in favour of the Ministerial measure.

In the Commons, the adjourned debate on the fifth day commenced by a member bringing the attention of the House to the efforts that were being made to intimidate persons who were opposed to the Government Bill. The speaker said that no threat should prevent him from doing his duty, and that he scorned the opinions of those men who took such means to influence public opinion, who endeavoured by violent speeches to inflame the minds of the people, and went so far as to teach them that, if not by free discussion within those walls, by resorting to physical force, the measure proposed by his Majesty's Ministers must be carried. Instances of menacing language having been employed at a public meeting recently held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern were then given.

Lord Althorp considered the speech referred to, as a very violent and foolish one, but did not think the House could take any notice of it. A long debate ensued, which was again adjourned.

On the following day, the question was asked, in the Lords, why nothing had yet been settled

respecting the Civil List, as a Committee on the subject had been sitting a long time without having made any report; and the speaker inquired when the report would be ready. Earl Grey regretted so much delay had taken place, but thought it could not last much longer.

Mr. O'Connell commenced the sixth day's reform debate with a very long speech; Sir James Graham followed with another; but the subject had been exhausted of its interest by previous orators, and nothing remained to be said that could have the slightest pretence to novelty. The seventh day's debate was much to the same purpose, except that towards its conclusion Lord John Russell replied for the Government, and at the end of his speech leave was given to bring in the Bill. Lord John then moved for leave to bring in similar Bills for Scotland and Ireland, which, after a few remarks, was given.

The Duke of Wellington's opinions at this crisis are thus expressed:—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, March 6, 1831.

My dear Duke,

I concur with you respecting Lord Wharncliffe's motion. He has been requested not to bring it on, and I think it possible that he will avoid doing so.

It certainly would give Lord Grey and Lord Brougham an opportunity of pulling to pieces the speeches which have been made in the House of Commons.

I concur with you likewise that in some views of the case it would have been better if the decision had been made to take the vote upon the introduction of the Bill. But in justification of the decision which was made by the members of the House of Commons, I believe unanimously, not to take the vote till the second reading, I must say that nobody suspected that the measure would be what it is, nor that it would be discussed as it has been, nor that the discussion would last for a week. Considering what a number of members were pledged to reform, and how much the attention of the country had been excited, it would not have been wise to take the vote upon the introduction of the Bill.

I feel all the inconveniences of delay as well in town and in the country as abroad. In foreign countries particularly, I believe that this discussion, and its continuance without a division, has shaken the authority of this country to its foundation.

But I don't think that we could now alter our course. Indeed, if we were to make the attempt at present, I am afraid that we should be baffled, and accused of a breach of faith with something very like justice.

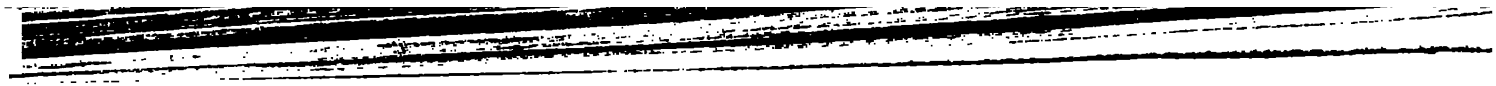
The decision taken upon this case is like every other upon politics. There was a choice of difficulties. Those who decided adopted the course which presented the smallest number of difficulties. They are now about to feel the inconveniences of that course, and complain. But I don't see how it is possible to alter it, even though

I think that some of the inconveniences were not foreseen when this course was decided upon.

I don't see any reason for which you should remain in town.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.



CHAPTER X.

[1831.]

THE SYSTEM OF INTIMIDATION—PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S EXPOSITION OF CONSERVATIVE POLICY—SECOND READING OF THE REFORM BILL—MAJORITY OF ONE—ANALYSIS OF THE VOTES—THE DUKE AGAINST ANY COMPROMISE—SIR ROBERT PEEL'S PROPHETIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE RESULTS OF THE MEASURE—DETERMINED OPPOSITION OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON—DECISION OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY.

CHAPTER X.

The character of the Reform Bill took many of the Conservative leaders by surprise—they had not anticipated that any Administration would have ventured to suggest a measure aiming at changes so extensive. Its intentions, once known, excited among the Conservatives a sense of the necessity of union. As nothing less than the destruction of their parliamentary influence would satisfy their political opponents, the common danger produced a common sympathy.

The Duke of Buckingham communicated with the Duke of Wellington, who acknowledged that he entertained similar views with his correspondent, particularly in the propriety of dividing on the introduction of the Bill, though he excuses the course adopted as an unavoidable necessity. Both, it is evident, had a clear conception of the state of the case. Ministers had three objects in view—to weaken their rivals, to secure the support of their Radical associates, and to maintain their own possession of power; and no measure could have been better adapted for the attainment of such objects.

The great point, however, was the annihilation of the close boroughs, which it was thought would totally prevent the great Conservative landowners from having that large influence in the House of Commons the reformers had heretofore found so formidable. That gained, they did not question their ability to deal with the Radical interest in the House, should it run counter to their own.

The next note refers to a proposal for a negotiation of which the Duke of Wellington did not approve:—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, March 9, 1831.

My dear Duke,

I received your note last night, and have enclosed the memorandum transmitted therein to Lord Chandos.

I wish that I had known that you intended to seek this interview. I think that I could have stated reasons for avoiding it.

I am very strongly impressed with a sense of the dangers of the position in which the country is placed. But I don't think that that position can be improved by any negotiation of the description of that referred to in the paper enclosed by you.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

Wellington.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, &c., K.G.

The proceedings of the Government to bear down

all opposition to their measure created great indignation among those who were thus attempted to be coerced. Lord Eldon, writing to his daughter, Lady F. J. Bankes, says, "The system of threatening persons who don't vote for reform is carried to a shocking length. Whether the members of the Legislature have nerves to withstand it, is very doubtful." In another communication to the same lady he wrote, "There is no describing the amazement this plan of reform has occasioned. There are divers opinions whether it will or will not pass the Commons. Generally it is thought that it cannot; but what will be the result of the operation of fear of the consequences that will follow in the minds of revolutionary men if it does not pass, and of fear in the minds of sober-minded men if it does pass, there is no saying."[1]

Lord Eldon, though more than eighty years of age, watched this result with deep anxiety. He did not, however, shrink from publicly avowing his sentiments, either in the House of Lords or elsewhere; and at the Pitt Club dinner, alluding to the attempts that were daily made to hold up the Peers to popular odium, he said, "The aristocracy once destroyed, the best supporters of the lower classes would be swept away." He added, "that in using the term 'lower classes' he meant nothing offensive, acknowledging that he had sprung from

[1] Twiss's "Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon," ii. 261.

them, and that he gloried in the fact; and it was, in his opinion, a noble and delightful thing to know that the humblest man in the realm might by a life of industry, propriety, and good moral and religious conduct, rise to eminence."

In the House of Commons on the 11th of March, there was a debate on the West Indian trade with America. Subsequently, after Lord Althorp had moved the sugar duties, reference was made to the dreadful state of distress prevailing in the West Indies, and an amendment was proposed, "That all brown and muscovado and clayed sugars, imported from British possessions and the Mauritius, should be imported at a duty of twenty shillings per cwt." It was supported by Mr. Hunt and other members, but on a division was lost by a majority of ninety-eight.

On the 14th, in the House of Lords, Lord Wynford brought forward a motion on the Bankruptcy Court Bill, but it was lost by a majority of fifteen. On the same day, after a debate on the first fruits in Ireland, Lord Althorp announced the second reading of the Reform Bill; and on a discussion upon the army estimates Mr. Hume made remarks on the various grants required by Government, but did not oppose either.

Petitions were constantly presented to both Houses of the Legislature on behalf of the great Ministerial measure, and every attempt was made to show that it was universally advocated; but the

opposition to it was neither feeble nor unimportant. The chief of the great party opposed to it thus develops his views respecting reform, and the policy he desired to pursue in relation to it:—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, March 19, 1831.

My dear Duke,

I have received your letter of yesterday, and I must refer you to a former communication for a statement of the reasons for which I thought that it was impossible to alter the course in respect to the Reform Bill which was adopted by common, I might almost say universal, consent before Lord John moved his proposition. I believe that that course was correct; and that notwithstanding the cry in the newspapers, the well-judging people in the country, as well as in London, are against the measure. If that be true, time is in our favour.

It is my opinion that those opposed to the Bill ought, after discussion, to divide against it upon the second reading. The course of the discussion will show them what is the prevailing opinion of the House upon the measure itself, as well as upon the subject in general; and supposing they are beat, whether they ought to undertake to alter the measure in the Committee, or to gain time, or to propose another measure, or to expose this measure in the Committee, and then make a last effort to throw it out upon the third reading.

I am convinced, however, that the most parliamentary and the wisest mode of proceeding is to divide against the second reading of the Bill.

It is certainly true that the terror in the country is

very great. I don't know of which people are most afraid, of passing the Bill or of opposing it. I confess that I cannot believe that we are not strong enough to maintain the laws and institutions of the country, whatever they may be. I am convinced that the system of government, or rather of no government, which the Bill would establish, will, by due course of law, destroy the country; and I am therefore for opposing the Bill in the H. of Commons as well as in the H. of Lords, without compromise of any description.

I confess that I have never been able to see my way to the call of representatives from Birmingham, &c., without the infringement of some great principle by which the government of this country has hitherto been carried on.

Birmingham cannot be called to send representatives in addition to other towns, without a breach of the union with Scotland and Ireland. Then Birmingham does not stand alone; if the principle is invaded in the case of that town, it must be invaded in the case of many others; the grievance would then become practical. It would not do to plead that the representatives for Birmingham would be virtually the representatives for Scotland and Ireland. The answer is obvious. The representatives for Scotland and Ireland are virtually the representatives for the large towns.

Then to disfranchise Old Sarum and Gatton, in order to make room for representatives from Birmingham and Manchester, is equally inconsistent with the principle on which every charter, every property in the kingdom is held. I consider that if Lord John's Bill, or any other Bill passes, by which a borough will be deprived of its charter without proved delinquency, or an overpowering

necessity, a shake will be given to the property of every individual in the country. Upon the whole, then, I confess that I cannot see my way to any measure which I could approve of.

Both parties appear still very confident of success. I hear that the Whigs have, since the passing the motion for leave to bring in the Bill, raised their tone: that their members have expressed more confidently their hopes of success, and that even Mr. L***** of Stafford has offered to bet his money!

On the other hand, I hear that many of them are much alarmed at their own handiwork, and would not be sorry to see it destroyed. I understand that some, even in the Cabinet, have this feeling.

Believe me ever yours,

Most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

The opinions of such a statesman as was the writer of this communication, demand the most earnest consideration. His account of the state of feeling existing in the two great political camps at this period of the campaign is not less luminous than trustworthy. The Duke had the best sources of information at his command, and could not avoid knowing that, despite of the public professions of some of the great Whig landed proprietors, *they* would be very glad to see the defeat of *the Bill*; and notwithstanding the confident tone of *the supporters* of the Government, the changes *proposed in* the constitution were so extensive, and *the interests*

affected by them so considerable, that some entertained doubts whether all "the pressure from without" they could bring to bear upon it, with the aid of their Radical friends, would insure its success.

The Duke of Buckingham was desirous of making concessions to the cry for legislative reform, and wrote to the Duke of Wellington, suggesting the bringing forward an amendment on the Government measure; the reply was what might have been anticipated from the writer's known decision of character.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, March 17, 1831.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I have received your letter. You may rely upon it that I have no mind to press one course of proceeding more than another; all are the same to me that tend to throw out this Bill. But I think that you are mistaken respecting opinions here; many wish for some reform; many more are afraid that they must swallow some reform. But I have seen none that think that this Bill can be amended.

Believe me ever

Yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham.

Nothing could be more decisive than the tone of these communications. The Duke could not be

brought to acknowledge the plea of numbers as affecting the possession of the franchise, nor of any plea for taking away a right bestowed by the constitution, to transfer it, without proper and sufficient cause of forfeiture, on persons or places not recognised by the constitution. He would regard existing privileges as inalienable rights, and treated with contempt the clap-trap arguments that had been urged to engage largely populated districts in favour of the proposed alterations. Some of the Conservative leaders were for striving to effect a compromise by carrying amendments which sanctioned a more limited reform, but the Duke urged the safer course of throwing out the Bill altogether. At this stage of the Reform Bill, it is quite clear that he was averse to it in any shape.

On the 15th of March, the usual discussions in the House of Commons were varied by debates on the shipping interest and on the timber trade. They were followed by one on diplomatic and consular pensions, in the course of which Mr. Hume stated his opinion that ambassadors ought not to have retiring pensions. On the 17th, in the Lords, the Marquis of Londonderry directed the attention of the House to an offence committed by the Lord Chancellor in having forced his way through the King's guard on the last drawing-room, and asked an explanation from the Commander-in-Chief. Lord Hill related the transaction, by which it appeared that the coachman had driven through the Horse

Guards into the Park in the face of orders to the contrary from the officer there on duty. Lord Brougham entered into a long account of the incident, excusing his servant, who had merely fulfilled his orders to make as much haste to the drawing-room as possible.

On the same day, Mr. Hunt presented a petition praying for inquiry into what he styled "the Manchester massacre." A debate followed on secondary punishments, which brought up Mr. Hunt again, with a long statement respecting his imprisonment in Ilchester Gaol, including a severe attack upon gaolers in general. The following day there was another debate on the timber duties, when Lord Althorp explained the views of the Government on the question. On the motion, however, that the Chairman leave the chair, the House divided, when there was a majority against Ministers of forty-six.

On the 19th, in the House, Mr. Hunt presented a petition, with which, as he acknowledged, other liberal members had refused to have anything to do. It was ostensibly from some labourers at Kensington in the employ of Cobbett, complaining of their remuneration. On the 21st, in the Lords, there was a discussion on reform, in which the Duke of Wellington objected to the Lord Chancellor attempting to discuss that measure before it came regularly before the House.

In the Commons, on the 21st, Sir Robert Inglis

directed the attention of the House to a libel that had been published in one of the newspapers, and ended with a motion, which was seconded by Sir Roger Gresley: "That the paragraph now read by the clerk at the table is a false and scandalous libel on this House, directly tending to deter members of this House from the discharge of their duty, and calculated to alienate from them the respect and confidence of their fellow subjects." A long discussion ensued, but there was no division.

On the same day, Lord John Russell brought forward the second reading of the Reform Bill, when a new series of orations were delivered; but it is doubtful whether the arguments produced a single convert on either side. The only thing remarkable in them was the courage of some of the Opposition speakers in braving what was considered public opinion by their skilful exposures of the weak points of the measure, and the motives of those who brought it forward.

On the following day there was a discussion on the Irish Reform Bill, when Mr. O'Connell was called to order by the Speaker. The adjourned debate was then commenced by Viscount Mahon, who made a forcible speech against the Ministerial measure. "Oh for one hour of Canning!" he exclaimed. "How would his keen eye have detected, his eloquent tongue have exposed the falsehoods and fallacies sought to be palmed upon the House in this discussion. How would his former friends

and associates have once more felt and acknowledged the mastery of his genius, and shrunk back to their allegiance."[1]

Another able speech on the same side was made by Viscount Castlereagh. He expressed himself in favour of a reform adapted to the exigencies of the constitution, but not such a sweeping, destructive scheme as the one proposed by his Majesty's Ministers. He boldly stated what would be the results of the measure in Ireland, referred to the threats that had been held out against its opposers, averred that he was unconnected with any party, and gave the assurance that he should vote from conscientious conviction, though it might be the last he should give in the House.

A powerful speech for reform was made by the Attorney-General, which elicited a masterly reply from Sir James Scarlett. After another speech from Lord John Russell, and some remarks by Mr. Hunt, the House divided, when the majority in favour of the Government measure was found to be *one*, there being 302 members for the second reading, and 301 against it.

In a House of 658 members, as 27 were absent, and 7 places were unrepresented, such a division was equivalent to a defeat, and shows how much Ministers were indebted for the support of the English and Irish Radicals. This will more plainly appear by the following analysis :—

[1] "Hansard," Third Series, iii. 722.

ENGLAND.	*Majorities.*	*Minorities.*
Members returned by counties . . .	60	32
„ „ counties of cities	26	4
„ „ universities .	2	2
Boroughs in which the right of suffrage was extensive, the population exceeding 4000	74	56
Boroughs where the population exceeds 4000, but where the suffrage was in the hands of a close corporation, or of a very small number of individuals	20	20
Boroughs that were to be disfranchised, the population not exceeding 2000 .	30	30
Boroughs that were to lose one member, the population not exceeding 4000 .	32	52
	244	246

Majority of English members against the Bill 2

SCOTLAND.		
Members returned by counties . . .	10	16
Ditto by boroughs	4	11
	258	273

Majority of English and Scottish members against the Bill 15

IRELAND.		
Members returned by counties . . .	40	22
„ „ close corporations	3	10
Boroughs with extensive right of suffrage	11	6
	312	311

Majority for the Bill of English, Scottish, and Irish members . . . 1

A number of petitions had been presented against the Government measure—among them one from the Sheriffs and Common Council, and another from the merchants of Dublin, on the 23rd, by Lord Farnham, in the House of Lords, which produced a discussion, in which the Earls of Roden, Carnarvon, and Grey, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Lord Chancellor, and the Duke of Richmond took part. In the Commons the Committee of Supply proceeded with their votes, Mr. Hume and Mr. Hunt now satisfying themselves with making mild objections.

The next day, in the House of Lords, the Marquis of Londonderry exposed the character of a petition for reform that had been brought forward as expressing the sentiments of the freeholders of the County of Down. He referred to the use that had been made of the King's name as approving of the measure, and the threats and unfair declarations that had been expressed in and out of Parliament, and condemned the Bill for the sweeping nature of the changes it was intended to effect. Earl Grey defended the measure, the conduct of Ministers, and the petition.

The Duke of Wellington regretted that such discussions should take place before the subject was fairly before the House. Nevertheless, having examined the measure that had been brought into the other House, he could not but consider that it would alter every interest existing in the country.

The proposed changes would not, however, he said, affect him, as he had no borough property; and having briefly referred to his services during a period of very nearly half a century, he stated that he could not regard the results of the Government measure without the most serious apprehensions.

In the other House there was a debate on the Irish Reform Bill, in the course of which Sir Robert Peel attacked the measure in a very eloquent speech, referring particularly to the Ministerial assertion that it was a final settlement of the question, which he prophetically assured the House was fallacious. It is worth while to compare his prospective description of its results with subsequent facts:—

"Probably," he said, "for a short time there may be a general wish, at least on the part of the reformers, to acquiesce in its provisions. The expectation of great benefits, gratitude for new privileges, the pleasure of novelty, may secure a short trial for the new constitution. But these impressions will gradually grow weaker. The classes that are left unrepresented will begin to stir—they will read the preamble of the Bill, and with some justice inquire why they should be excluded from its benefits."

He then exposed some of the inconsistent arrangements of the measure, and the mischiefs that must arise from continually enlarging the democratic influence in the senate. In conclusion he

stated that, as he was not permitted to modify the measure, he should oppose it.

After Lord Palmerston had replied, and a few other speakers had made remarks, the Bill was read a first time.

Notwithstanding that several distinguished members of his party had expressed themselves in favour of some reform, the Duke of Wellington still would hear of no concessions. His sentiments, however, will be best expressed by himself:—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, March 24, 1831.

My dear Duke,

The vote of Tuesday is certainly a very serious affair. A majority of the H. of Commons, consisting of three hundred and two persons, have voted for the principle of a measure of revolution. I agree with you that this measure cannot be modified. But the vote of Tuesday affords time for the country to come to its senses; and it is most probable that this measure will be thrown out. But I cannot think otherwise than that the country has received a severe shock, from which it will not easily recover. There is no course open to me excepting to persevere in my opposition to this Bill. I can see no reform, however moderate, that will not violate some principle; and I cannot for the life of me see that any reform is necessary, excepting for the gratification of certain individuals. In my opinion, the fault of which those have been guilty who oppose the measure, is the ad-

mission that any reform is necessary; which, if they will examine their own opinions, they will find to be inconsistent with the truth, and to be an admission which leads to all the consequences of the measure now under discussion.

It is impossible for me to say whether the King will or will not dissolve his Parliament. I dined at St. James's yesterday. The King appeared to be better, more at his ease, and in better spirits than when I had seen him before. I understand that he was so considered by those who see more of H. M. than I do. This may be to be attributed to his being relieved from the necessity of dissolving Parliament, or to his feeling that the state of the Reform Bill in Parliament gives him fair ground for yielding to the solicitations of his Ministers on that subject. He may view the subject in either way.

All that I know is that, if the Ministers take a vote for the Ordnance between this and Good Friday, they have the means to enable them to dissolve the Parliament. I think that they were going last night to propose a farther vote on account of the Civil List. But, whether they take this vote or not, they can dissolve.

I quite agree with you in respect to the effect of the Reform Bill now depending; and I certainly never will enter the House of Lords from the time that it passes. But having served the King and his predecessors for forty-five years, during above thirty of them in situations of trust and confidence, I cannot retire from his service. I propose to continue to serve him, therefore, as long as I shall be permitted to do so with honour; that is to say, as long as I may not be insulted by the servants of his Government.

But I will not be degraded even with the H. of Lords.

Believe me ever
Yours most sincerely,
WELLINGTON.

The strong feelings expressed by the Duke towards the conclusion of the preceding communication prove how earnest was his opposition to the measure; and, as he had stated in Parliament, as he had no pecuniary stake in the contest, these feelings arose from his conviction that grave mischiefs must arise from the extensive changes that were to be made in the existing system of representation. That he subsequently changed his intention never to enter the House of Lords after the passing of the obnoxious Bill, every one knows; but every one does not bear in mind the affronts this illustrious man had received when he thus expressed himself. There seemed not only a general consent among his political opponents to ignore his long and important services, but every encouragement appeared to be given by the supporters of Government to hold him up to public derision.

On the 25th of March discussions arose respecting the supplies and the Civil List. Sir Thomas Fremantle was desirous that no advantage should be taken by the House of the King's expressed intention not to accept an outfit for the Queen; but

Messrs. Hunt, Hume, and O'Connell made objections. Lord Althorp then proposed a grant of 510,000*l.* for the expenses of the royal household. Mr. Hume moved an amendment for the reduced sum of 423,470*l.* He was supported by Mr. Hunt and Mr. O'Connell, but there was no division.

Lord Wharncliffe had given notice of a motion for papers referring to parliamentary reform, and the attendance of the Opposition peers was considered important.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, March 26, 1831.

My dear Duke,

As I may not see Lord Chandos this morning, I write you one line to tell you that Lord Wharncliffe came to the House of Lords yesterday, determined to bring on his motion on Monday.

You have no time to lose, if you should wish to be present.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

Wellington.

There was no sign of indecision in the Conservative party: notwithstanding the risk every member of it ran from mob violence, the disposition to defend the constitution did not abate; the pilots who had assisted in navigating the vessel of the State through many a dangerous channel, now dispossessed of authority, were expected to look on and see the good ship led amongst the breakers; but

they chose to remonstrate, and endeavoured to prove to the thoughtless crew their criminal folly. With "youth at the prow and pleasure at the helm," burlesqued by the officers in command, there was but little hope of escape for the passengers; nevertheless, an interposition was attempted, which it was hoped would yet be in time to avert the threatened mischief.

The Duke of Wellington sought to give confidence to his friends by the unequivocal nature of his opposition. The more he looked at reform, the less he seemed to like it—the more he looked for its necessity, the less he appeared to see it. He made up his mind that it was "a cheat, a delusion, and a snare"—a false pretence of general improvement to obtain domination for a particular section of the community—a sham prospect of advantage to the masses, to secure exclusive privileges to a few.

CHAPTER XI.

[1831.]

MODERATE REFORMERS—NEGOTIATIONS AMONG THE CONSERVATIVES—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S OPPOSITION—HIS VIEWS AND INTENTIONS—RESULTS OF CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION—THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND—MR. HUNT'S ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S CHANGE OF OPINION RESPECTING THE REFORM BILL—RADICAL ALTERCATIONS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—SETTLEMENT ON THE QUEEN—PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS—MINISTERS IN A MINORITY ON THE REFORM BILL—EXTRAORDINARY SCENES IN BOTH HOUSES OF THE LEGISLATURE—THE DISSOLUTION.

CHAPTER XI.

On the 28th, in the House of Lords, a desire was expressed for a classification of the reform petitions, that it might be ascertained how many prayed for the Ministerial measure, and how many for other objects. Lord Wharncliffe subsequently made his proposed motion, prefaced by an able analysis of the measure before the country, which was followed by speeches from Lord Eldon and the Lord Chancellor. Lord Durham attacked the borough proprietors; the Duke of Richmond followed on the same side; the Marquis of Londonderry attacked the Duke for inconsistency; and after a long speech from the Lord Chancellor, a manly one from the Duke of Wellington, and a reply from Earl Grey at considerable length, the motion was agreed to without a division.

On the same day, in the House of Commons, after a discussion on the coal trade, the report of the Committee on the Civil List was brought up; and though Mr. Hume and Mr. O'Connell spoke in opposition, apparent rather than real, the resolutions were agreed to. The navy estimates were

then proposed, which brought up Messrs. Hume and O'Connell more than once, but they did not attempt to divide the House.

On the 29th the Marquis of Chandos declared himself in favour of a moderate reform that would secure the rights of the people and preserve the constitution. Subsequently discussions on petitions for and against reform took up nearly the whole of the sitting.

On the following day, discussions occurred in the Lords respecting the question of the alleged abuses in the existing system of representation, for which no remedy had been provided by the Government measure. It was said, with unquestionable truth, that, should this Bill pass into law, bribery would exist to a greater extent, and be more difficult of proof. Unqualified opposition to the character of the Bill was then expressed, and references made to the mischievous agitation that had been got up in England and Ireland to advance it. And it was hoped that a measure of reform might yet be proposed, to which every honest man could give his approbation.

This prophetic intimation of the results of the Bill has been fully proved by the evidence taken before the Committees that have tried the contested elections since the measure became a law. But what has become known on this point bears a small proportion only to what has not been suffered to transpire.

In the Commons there were the usual discursive discussions, the most important being on the salaries of public officers, and on distress and relief in Ireland. After which the Houses adjourned for the Easter holidays.

The critical state of the Government, from not possessing a working majority in the House of Commons, and having a large majority opposed to them in the Lords, made it necessary that the Opposition should be organized in such a manner as to render its power available when the proper opportunity for an effective demonstration should arrive. A desire was daily gaining strength among the Conservatives, either that the sections into which it had been divided should coalesce for a common object, or that a new party should be established, composed of the most able and influential members of the Opposition, with a particular policy and under an enterprising chief. Both views the reader has already seen advocated; and it was considered that the proper time for communicating with Sir Robert Peel had arrived; he was therefore written to for the purpose of ascertaining his sentiments. His reply is annexed:—

SIR ROBERT PEEL, BART., TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

(Private and Confidential.)

Whitehall Gardens, March 28, 1831.

My dear Lord Duke,

I have to make many apologies to your Grace for not having returned an immediate answer to the communication with which you favoured me respecting the present critical position of public affairs. Your consideration and kindness will probably have suggested the true reason for the delay—the incessant demands on every moment of my time for the instant despatch of parliamentary or official business.

I beg to assure your Grace that I am the last person to misinterpret or to undervalue the motives which dictated, and could alone have dictated, the communication with which you have favoured me.

I have not, I assure you, countenanced the rumours respecting intended, or possible, resignation, to which your Grace alludes.

I am deeply impressed with the impolicy of declaring, and even of forming beforehand, positive resolutions as to the course to be pursued by a public man upon contingencies, the precise character and bearing of which must materially depend upon many accompanying circumstances which it is difficult to foresee.

I will not act, in any event, upon any personal feeling of pique or mortification. I will give that full consideration—to which they are so justly entitled—to the suggestions which your Grace has offered; and, whatever course I may resolve to take, I shall do full justice to the

feelings and motives which have influenced your Grace in addressing me at this important crisis.

I have the honour to be,

My dear Lord Duke,

Your very faithful and obedient servant,

ROBERT PEEL.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, K.G.

This communication is diplomatically vague and cautious—it promises only to take the Duke's suggestions into consideration; but as the latter was in favour of a moderate reform, and the Duke of Wellington, with whom Sir Robert Peel maintained the closest political relations, objected strongly to reform in any shape, it was easy to anticipate the result of any separate negotiation with Sir Robert. His policy was that of his late colleague, though he occasionally put forward evidences of a more conciliatory disposition. His intention was to watch and wait attack whenever a favourable opening presented itself, but have nothing to do with alliances which would leave him without the support of the Duke of Wellington, whose fame amongst his countrymen he expected must sooner or later restore to him that large measure of political influence of which he had been deprived through the recent agitation.

There appeared to be a pressing necessity for an amalgamation, and negotiations were opened with Lord Eldon and Lord Sidmouth. We do not find

any trace of these in the papers published by the learned Lord Chancellor's biographer, except in a notice that Lord Eldon had some conversation with Lord Sidmouth upon reform on the day of the second reading of the Bill; nor is there any reference to it in Dr. Pellew's "Life and Correspondence of Lord Sidmouth." Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that an attempt was made to bring together Lord Eldon and the Duke of Wellington; and the Duke of Buckingham appears to have had some communications with the latter on the subject. At least such an inference is to be gathered from the following letter:—

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

(Private and Confidential.)

St. James's Palace, March 31, 1831.
Six o'clock P.M.

My Lord Duke,

I am this moment returned from your Grace's in Pall Mall, where I had hoped still to have found you, especially after I had read the contents of your letter, intimating what the Speaker is said to have stated. The object of my wishing to see your Grace was to learn from you if, in consequence of what passed between us yesterday morning, you had had any communication with the D. of Wellington on the subject of Lord Eldon, as I was anxious that, *for fear* of any jealousy arising from such a measure, all the good *begun* by bringing these two statesmen to-

gether might be done away with. Therefore I am sorry your Grace has left London ere this has been settled.

With respect to whether, in case that Lord E. demanded that audience, other peers should demand the same, I own it appears to me that such a measure is most highly desirable, and there could not be a better choice than the two dukes you have suggested; and I think, if Lord Sidmouth could be prevailed upon, it would be a most salutary measure.

May I beg your Grace to favour me with a line by return of post, letting me know what has passed between you and the D. of Wellington.

Believe me, my Lord Duke,

Yours very truly,

ERNEST.

It would appear from the foregoing that an intention had been entertained by Lord Eldon of asking an audience of the King; for the purpose, possibly, of representing to his Majesty the mischievous tendency of the course pursued by his confidential advisers, and that he was to be accompanied by other Peers, possessed of similar experience in the consideration of State affairs; but if such was their intention, it must have been subsequently abandoned.

The Duke of Wellington stood firm in the position he had taken up, and it is pretty clear that Sir Robert Peel stood with him. The latter would attend to no suggestions for a re-organization of his party, and maintained a reserve as to his own in-

tentions; the former, on the contrary, spoke out his sentiments clearly and determinedly, though as much averse to the proposed amalgamation as he was to countenance any modified plan of reform such as some of his personal friends had expressed their willingness to favour. He would not listen to reform in any shape, and would oppose it at every stage. There was not the slightest hope of getting him from this position, or of persuading him to alter these tactics.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Strathfieldsaye, April 1, 1831.

My dear Duke,

I was under the necessity of going out at twelve on Wednesday; I was out all day, and could not call upon you, nor fix a time to receive you at my home.

I am convinced that there is but one safe course about reform, and that is to oppose the Government upon every question that may occur in the further discussion of the Bill; with a view to reject it altogether, if possible.

I am opposed to all reform; and can without personal or indeed public inconvenience avow my opinion. Indeed, I believe that some advantage is gained by the knowledge which the public have of my opinion on this subject. But others may not entertain the same opinion, or may not be in a situation to think that they ought to avow it; or they may think that a better mode of getting rid of the Bill is to break it down by some vote in the committee short of rejecting the first clause.

Now all these, and even moderate reformers, will be

brought to act together, if all determine at all events to vote against whatever the Government propose or vote for.

I had no conversation with Sir Robert Peel after I saw you in the House of Lords on Tuesday. My belief is that he wishes to defeat the Bill. He may think some reform desirable, but of that I am not so certain. Of this I am certain, viz., that he will not propose, or be a party to the proposition of any plan.

I think that Lord Grey and Lord Brougham ought to have cured moderate reformers by their speeches on Monday night. Lord Brougham was unanswerable on the topic of the advantages which the reformers had acquired by their adversaries adopting moderate reform; and Lord Wharncliffe admitted, in reply to Lord Grey, that his position was as untenable as a "resting-place" as that of the Government plan.

Upon the whole, I am convinced that the real ground to stand upon is to reject the Bill, contending against any reform. I hear from all quarters that the public opinion is changing. It is obvious, at all events, that men will listen to objections, and that there are some willing to make them.

Believe me, ever yours,

Most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

H.G. the Duke of Buckingham, K.G., &c.

These representations were entitled to consideration: indeed, there was force in that which showed the advantage the reformers were likely to take of the acknowledgment that some reform was necessary; and if the weakness of the position of the

moderate reformers were allowed, there was no alternative for them from acceptance of the more antagonistic policy of the Duke. He was evidently well aware of this; and though he expresses some doubt as to the reform views of Sir Robert Peel, he expresses none as to his disinclination to originate or adopt any particular plan of operations.

Communications continued to pass on the all-absorbing subject of reform, but the Duke of Wellington's invariably breathed hostility to the Government measure. The manner in which he describes, in the following letter, his relations with the royal family is highly characteristic; and very interesting is the account he gives, towards the conclusion, of the effect produced by the Roman Catholic Relief Bill:—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Strathfieldsaye, April 5, 1831.

My dear Duke,

I quite concur with you that the mode of opposing the Bill is to oppose any disfranchisement. This is the course which I will take.

I would recommend to you to urge your friends to take that course in preference to any other. But, if they should find themselves defeated upon that course, to take any other, the least disadvantageous. I should say that, if they should be in doubt, they cannot do better than vote against that which the Government will propose.

The more I consider of the Bill, the more convinced I am of its disastrous consequences to the country; but it is not easy to defeat it.

I have never offended the D. of Cumberland. After the settlement of the R. C. question, H.R.H. did me the honour of noticing me, and of speaking to me more than once. H.R.H. afterwards, that is to say, from the 12th August, 1829, thought proper to discontinue to do me that honour.

When H.R.H. or any of the royal family notices me, I consider that an honour is done me; I regret much when that honour is withheld from me; but I have done nothing to deserve the deprival of it. On the contrary, I believe that it is known to H.R.H. that I did my duty by him in a case in which he was personally interested.

I never have failed, nor never will fail, in respect for his Royal Highness or his family, and I must wait with patience till the moment will arrive when H.R.H. will think proper to notice me.

It is curious enough that I should be the only loser by the R. C. question. I never come into the country, or go into society in the country, that some gentleman or other does not approach me to thank me for the good that it has done him personally. There is no doubt that it has done some good in Ireland, though not all that might have been expected from it; it has relieved many from a burden which overpowered them, and has enabled them to enter the public service. It has relieved the empire at large from the impending danger of a civil contest on a question on which the majority of one House of Parliament, an increasing minority in the other, the greatest part of the intelligence of Great Britain, and nearly all the population of Ireland, were of opinion that concession

ought to be made. I alone have suffered. But I console myself with the reflection that I did my duty; that I have satisfied myself; and I must leave the rest to chance.

Believe me, my dear Duke,

Ever yours, most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

H.G. the D. of Buckingham, K.G.

The Duke mentions the advantages which he believed resulted from the passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, but is silent respecting the fruitful crop of evils it produced. He could not, however, be ignorant that the extraordinary influence of O'Connell, and the difficulties and embarrassments of the English Government arising out of it, as well as the dreadful condition of the Protestant portion of the population of Ireland, could clearly be traced to that measure. It is quite true that the country was in a state of dissatisfaction; but this seems to have been the case as far back as there are records of English domination; and it is doubtful whether at any period this dissatisfaction was more general or less hostile than it became after the great act of reconciliation, as it was represented, had been granted.

The desired amalgamation was not effected so completely as the promoters of it wished; but a mutual approach was made by some persons who had been a considerable time on indifferent terms.

Such was the case between the Duke of Cumberland and the Duke of Wellington; this, however, will be best explained by his Royal Highness.

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

St. James's Palace, April 8, 1831.

My dear Duke,

I have just received your Grace's letter of yesterday's date, for which I beg your acceptance of my best thanks, as well as for the extract of the Duke of Wellington's letter, upon which I cannot refrain from stating that when his Grace says "that I had spoken to him more than once after the settlement of the R. C. question, and that it was only since the 12th of August, 1829, that I had ceased doing so," his Grace's recollection and mine do not concur. According to my recollection, since a very long, and I may say very unpleasant conversation that I had with the Duke at Windsor, the latter part of February, 1829, I have not had any conversation with him; and according to that recollection have not exchanged a word with his Grace since once in the Park when he met with an accident at the review.

What the Duke can mean by saying "that I knew he did his duty in a case in which I was personally interested," I am really at a loss to make out, not knowing what circumstance he can allude to, unless it be respecting a diabolical threat of murder by a person named *Ash;* with regard to which I considered his Grace as acting as H.M. Minister. I merely make these remarks, however, to your Grace, in order that my conduct may not appear to you capricious or inconsistent.

However, now I am sure I am, under present circum-

stances, the last person to touch upon these past events, and as the Duke of W. called on me, I thought it right immediately in return to call on him at Apsley House, and shall feel no difficulty in conversing with him whenever I may meet him. I certainly lament very much having been from home when he called at St. James's; and though I called on him the next day at twelve o'clock, I was told he had left town that morning. It appears to me that, in times such as these, it is necessary for every wellwisher to his country, who is attached to the monarchy and the constitution, to meet and resist the revolutionary Bill now pending in Parliament, which, if carried, must, according to my humble opinion, annihilate all our institutions both in Church and State, and, sooner or later, lead to the repeal of the Union.

Ministers, I understand, boldly affirm they will carry the Bill by a majority of twenty-five to thirty; but I believe this is a mere *ruse de guerre*, for I am told of no diminution in our ranks by those who I believe are pretty well informed.

I am ashamed at the length of my letter; but I felt it necessary, after the confidential manner in which your Grace has entrusted me with the D. of W.'s reply, to say what I have done.

When you return to town I hope to see you.

Believe me, my Lord Duke,

Yours very sincerely,

ERNEST.

The House of Commons resumed its sittings on the 12th of April, and commenced with a discussion on the petitions against reform; in the course of which Mr. Hunt acknowledged that there was a

reaction of opinion respecting the Reform Bill, as many persons in Staffordshire and Warwickshire now being against it as for it. Even in Manchester, Birmingham, Bolton, and Preston, with one exception, he said, the people thought that they had been deluded by it. The Spitalfields weavers, he asserted, were of the same opinion.[1] This startling avowal gave grave offence to the reformers; and the assertion the speaker afterwards made, that he was an enemy to the measure, because it did not go far enough, was not calculated to appease their indignation.

The House, on resolving itself into a Committee on the Civil List Bill, Messrs. Hume and O'Connell made as usual a faint opposition; another discussion on the Reform Bill came on on the following day, which preceded one on the borough of Weymouth. Subsequently there was a debate on the county of Clare; after which the House went into a Committee of Supply.

In the House of Lords, on the 14th, the Duke of Wellington presented a petition against reform from the noblemen, freeholders, justices of the peace, and Commissioners of Supply of the county of Dumbarton, and stated his opinion that it was the duty of the Government to have consulted the interests of the great landed proprietors of Scotland before they had brought forward their measure.

[1] "Hansard," Third Series, iii., 1245.

The Marquis of Londonderry asked for information of the intentions of Ministers respecting reform, when Earl Grey repeated his declaration to stand or fall with the Bill.

On the same day the usual discussions in the Commons were much enlivened by an interchange of personalities between Mr. Hunt and Mr. O'Connell. The former referred to the attacks that had been made upon him by Messrs. Hume and O'Connell, so that, as he said, "between Sawney and Blarney, he had enough upon his hands." This brought upon him a good deal of abuse from his Radical friends, which again stirred up Mr. Hunt, who made the most of his time and opportunity. Mr. O'Connell replied. Mr. Hunt replied to the reply. Mr. O'Connell put in a rejoinder. The patience of the House, or the amusement they found in the contest, prevented any interference; but Mr. Hunt retained his seat and his temper, and left the advantage of the last word to his opponent.

Subsequently the third reading of the Civil List Bill brought up Mr. Hume twice, but with a very mild form of opposition. On a clause being proposed by Lord Althorp to add certain charges to the Civil List, he proposed an amendment excluding pensions to the amount of 75,000*l.* In this he was seconded by Mr. Hunt, because, as he naïvely said, "out of doors these discussions were called sham debates in which no division took place." On a

division only seventeen voted for the amendment. Next Mr. Hume proposed a reduction of 8000*l.* in the allowances of the royal dukes, in which he was also seconded by Mr. Hunt; but there was again no division.

On the 15th, in the House of Commons, Lord Althorp moved, as a provision for her Majesty, in case she should survive the King, that 100,000*l.* a year, Bushey Park, and Marlborough House should be settled upon her for life. It was agreed to. Mr. Fowell Buxton then made a speech on negro slavery, ending it with a motion for effecting abolition throughout the British dominions. A long debate followed, which was adjourned.

It was evident that Lord Grenville did not take a brighter view of the prospects of the country than other politicians had done.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

April 15, 1831.

My views of all that is passing are as gloomy as yours can be; and I am thankful for any employment that can for a moment assist my constant, but too often unsuccessful attempts to turn aside my mind from evils which, in 1825, I vainly hoped (but alas! what are our hopes?) I at least should not live to see, even in near prospect, much less in actual and rapid advance.

The House of Lords, on the 18th, were engaged

in considering a breach of privilege. In the Commons, after the customary rambling discussion on reform petitions, the Parliamentary Reform Bill went into Committee under the auspices of Lord John Russell. He announced certain alterations. General Gascoyne moved an amendment, "That it is the opinion of this House that the total number of knights, citizens, and burgesses returned to Parliament for that part of the United Kingdom called England and Wales, ought not to be diminished." This was seconded by Mr. Sadler, in a speech of great power and of considerable length. Lord Althorp replied. Other members spoke on the subject, after which the debate was adjourned.

The next day the Lords resumed their consideration of the breach of privilege; and the printer of the *Times* journal was committed to the custody of the usher of the black rod for having printed a libel on the House. Lord Grey then moved that the House go into Committee on the Civil List. The Duke of Wellington objected to a reduction in the number of Government officers; but after remarks from Lords Goderich, Ellenborough, and Carnarvon, the clauses of the Bill were agreed to without any amendment.

In the adjourned debate in the Commons, Mr. O'Connell was called to order by the Speaker. Mr. Hunt did not oppose Mr. O'Connell, but the amendment. Sir Robert Peel, the Attorney-General, and several other eminent orators addressed the House,

and Lord John Russell concluded the debate. The House divided, when, for the amendment, there voted 299; against it 291. Majority against Ministers, *eight*.

A discussion on the recent breach of privilege in the House of Lords on the 20th became quite exciting in consequence of remarks between the Marquis of Londonderry and the Lord Chancellor. In the Commons, on the same day, on the motion for the ordnance estimates, Mr. Hume acquiesced. He afterwards lectured Mr. Hunt for expressing unguarded opinions respecting the Reform Bill and the people. Mr. Hunt spoke several times, and was called to order by the Speaker.

On the next day reform petitions formed the chief subject of interest in the Lords till the breach of privilege case was brought forward, when the printer was reprimanded by the Lord Chancellor, and discharged out of custody. Subsequently Lord Wharncliffe brought under the attention of the House the fact that the King had not consented to the Civil List Bill; an omission on the part of Ministers that was commented on by the Duke of Wellington. There was another incidental debate in the House of Commons on reform, followed by another division, in which the Government found themselves in a minority of twenty-two on a motion for adjournment.

On the 21st there was a very lively discussion

between the Marquis of Londonderry and the Duke of Richmond; and their example appears to have affected other peers, for an extraordinary scene of excitement ensued. "It is impossible," says a trustworthy authority, "to describe the confusion, the noise, and impetuosity that prevailed from one end of the House to the other. The peeresses present seemed alarmed. Some of the peers were, as it appeared in the confusion, almost scuffling, and as if shaking their hands at each other in anger."[1]

The Earl of Mansfield addressed the House under these unpromising circumstances, and strove to calm the general excitement, but was interrupted in his discourse by loud cries of "The King! the King!" Presently the large doors at the right hand of the throne were thrown open, and his Majesty, accompanied by his attendants, entered, and took his seat on the throne.

After the Commons had been summoned, and the royal assent had been given to the Civil List, indemnity, colonial trade, post-office sale, and other private Bills, the King read a speech announcing the prorogation and subsequent dissolution of Parliament, for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of the people on reform in the way in which it could be most constitutionally and authentically expressed. The Commons were thanked for the provision they had made for the honour and dignity

[1] "Hansard," Third Series, iii., 1808.

of the Crown, for the Queen, and for the supplies for the public service; and the usual assurance was given as to the friendly intercourse that existed between the Sovereign and foreign Powers. The King retired, and the House was dismissed.

In the meantime a similar scene of disorder had been exhibited in the Commons, during which the Speaker interposed frequently to restore order, for the reformers were treating Sir Robert Peel, who had possession of the House, with the most unseemly interruptions. The disturbance ended when the usher of the black rod summoned the House to attend his Majesty in the House of Peers.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

April 22, 1831.

How can I talk or think of anything but the fearful news I this morning receive of the dissolution? I most deeply pity the poor King, to whom, if I myself had the fearful duty of advising him (God be thanked that I had not!), I really do not see what other course I could have suggested. It would have been quite as impossible for Peel as for the present men to carry on any Government in such a body. Will this step bring together a better, either now or hereafter, when they shall have passed, or attempted again without success to pass, their Reform Bill?

I know not, and my mind and body are no longer strong enough to look calmly at such dangers as now threaten us on every side.

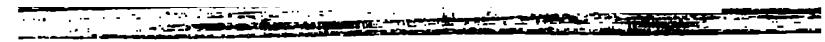
God bless and preserve you and yours!

The Government, therefore, having received two signal defeats while bringing forward their grand measure, had been forced into an acknowledgment of their own weakness by an abrupt termination of the parliamentary session. The temper with which they received their humiliation may be seen in the discreditable scenes they got up in each House of the Legislature on the eve of the authorized declaration of their failure. This was, however, no more than might have been expected: the genuine reformers had before them a large field of labour that included everything—except themselves.

CHAPTER XII.

[1831.]

AGITATION RECOMMENCED—MOB ATTACKS ON THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AND SIR ROBERT WILSON—THE GENERAL ELECTION—THE DUKE'S OPINION OF THE DISSOLUTION—OPENING OF PARLIAMENT—PROCEEDINGS IN BOTH HOUSES—SEDITIOUS PUBLICATIONS—EXTRACTS FROM "THE POOR MAN'S GUARDIAN," "THE REPUBLICAN," "THE PROMPTER"—MR. HUNT'S PARLIAMENTARY LABOURS—"CITIZEN HUME" AND HIS CHARGE AGAINST THE ARISTOCRACY—DEBATES ON THE REFORM BILL—PROVISION FOR QUEEN ADELAIDE—PRINCE LEOPOLD OF SAXE-COBURG SELECTED TO BE KING OF THE BELGIANS—HE SURRENDERS HIS ENGLISH PENSION.



CHAPTER XII.

THE defeat was thus acknowledged, notwithstanding the assistance the Government had accepted from the Radicals, and the menaces and abuses that had been thrown out against the leaders of the Opposition; the popular clamour that had been got up in favour of the measure—the ostentatious use that had been made of the King's name as favouring it, and the unmanly attacks that had been made upon the Queen for being supposed to be adverse to its passing into a law.

The Radical leaders in Parliament had done infinite mischief to the character of their Ministerial colleagues among people of sense and respectability, by their unparliamentary conduct and gross abuse of each other and of the public time. The threats that had been so freely lavished against the Duke of Wellington and his friends, had excited the latter to a more strenuous resistance. One of the mob orators having proved that the people did not care for the Government measure, and would not be satisfied without much more hazardous changes, exposed even to the Whigs the real character of

mob co-operation, and the abuse of the King's name was not more popular at Court than the abuse of the Queen; for it was generally understood by those who had an opportunity of learning the true state of the case, that though his Majesty acquiesced in the proceedings of his Ministers, he was far from cordial in his support of their measure, and regarded the insults that had been circulated against his consort with great indignation.

The Government had confessed themselves beaten, and had determined to play the game of agitation over again, with more experience and greater facilities for winning. The democratic and regal elements in the constitution were to be made the most of. The lower classes were excited by accounts of "the sailor King" being determined to assist the people in gaining their rights, and by a dissolution, putting an end for ever to the power of "a corrupt oligarchy," that by factious opposition to their just demands, had frustrated for a time his Majesty's affectionate intentions; and the King was everywhere announced as supporting his Ministers in the most zealous manner, and taking the deepest interest in the new experiment to obtain a more popular Parliament.

The result was a general illumination in honour of the dissolution, and a mob demonstration in dishonour of the Opposition leaders. The City was made brilliant with lamps and eloquent with transparencies, which filled the principal thoroughfares

with a portion of the population ready to take advantage of any opportunity for a riot; and the houses of the Duke of Wellington, the Marquis of Londonderry, Sir Robert Peel, Sir Robert Wilson, and a few other gentlemen, were surrounded, and with a chorus of yells, every accessible pane of glass they presented was broken. No interruption was offered to this outrage. The people were to be conciliated, therefore their friends in power folded their arms and looked on while they were disgracing themselves and the nation by a senseless act of destruction. The attack upon Apsley House in particular left a stigma upon England that must have been felt by every Englishman of character; and these wanton mischiefs showed to the advocates of universal suffrage how worthy their clients were of political power of any kind.

Two men of very different calibre must have regarded the destruction of their property and this manifestation of democratic displeasure with a similar appreciation of mob popularity. The Duke of Wellington could not have forgotten the enthusiastic recognition of his services when the English people were grateful and rational. Now, because he was conscientiously opposed to a measure which, he thought, while it could confer on them no real benefit, was likely to create irremediable evils, his mansion was assailed by savage and vindictive rioters, when the Duchess was known to be on a bed of sickness, from which after such an alarming demon-

stration, it is not surprising that she never recovered.[1]

Sir Robert Wilson had also been a popular idol, but had been raised on a more modest pedestal. He had not saved a nation by the most extraordinary combination of military skill and endurance that has been exhibited in ancient or modern times; he had merely been the hero of a popular movement about as sensible as the one of which he was now the victim. He had condescended to direct the manœuvres of the lower orders in London when they had determined that the funeral procession of Queen Caroline should proceed in a direction through the City which the authorities had prohibited. He had subsequently repented of this egregious folly, and had spoken against the folly which had succeeded it. His pedestal was knocked to pieces, and so were his windows.

Under such unpropitious auspices a general election was about to commence. The preliminary proceedings on the part of the Government were much of the usual character; the most exciting appeals to the people; the most virulent abuse of their political opponents; a more exaggerated version of old exaggerations, and a more gross representation of misrepresented facts, were their most prominent features. It is impossible to do justice to the magnifying powers now applied to small evils; the drop of water that looked clear to common sense,

[1] The Duchess died on the 25th of April.

under the lens of party was shown to be a mass of corruption; political animalculæ, the existence of which had scarcely been suspected by many close observers, were thrown upon the disc in the shape of "bloated boroughmongers," "a corrupt oligarchy," "a tyrannical aristocracy," and similar monstrous abominations, till the uneducated masses, including many who ought to have known better, accepted the microscopic exhibition as matter of fact, and turned away to the equally delusive promises of the Reform Bill with additional confidence. The population of the great towns were assured that in this political provision, not only "half a loaf was better than no bread," but that it was an instalment that must eventually secure to them the most comfortable portion of the batch, with the prospect of having the oven in their own hands, and what seemed of most importance to many, withholding bread from every one but themselves.

In Ireland, the commotion that ushered in the general election was even more intense than in England. Freedom of speech and action were indulged in to an alarming extent. The Lord Lieutenant's proclamations ceased, and those of the real ruler of the country recommenced. The extent of the violence that prevailed may be understood by the fact, that in one county alone (Clare), before the special commission that had been held there, two hundred and seventy-six persons were charged with outrages of various kinds. Famine was now adding

its terrible lessons to disorder and disaffection; but though a liberal subscription was immediately entered into in England to afford relief to the suffering, it did not appear to have any sensible effect on the hostility of a certain portion of the Irish population to English rule.

Such was the state of things at home; nor was the prospect abroad more encouraging. France was unsettled and divided. The "citizen King" was losing ground, and his Ministers were not more popular than their predecessors. In Belgium there was still no Sovereign; the cities continued to make demonstrations against the House of Orange; and the Government was still provisional. The war in Poland raged with great animosity; a revolution had taken place in Brazil; Don Pedro abdicated in favour of his son, a child of five years, and sailed for London, where he assumed the title of Duke of Braganza.

How the Duke of Wellington thought in this crisis is given under his own hand:—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Walmer Castle, May 21, 1831.

My dear Duke,

I have received your letter of the 19th from Wotton. It appears true that we are in a bad way. I don't believe that the King of England has taken a step so fatal to his monarchy since the day that Charles I. passed the Act to deprive himself of the power of proroguing or dissolving

the Long Parliament, as King William IV. did on the 22nd of April last.

My mind is travelling in the same direction as yours. We must make a noise in the H.of Lords,I believe! I don't think that we shall be able to do more, as I understand that the Government are about to create numerous peers. They say as many as thirty or forty; and I should not be surprised at this or any other act after what I have seen.

The dismay of all reasonable men upon what is going on is beyond description. It is impossible that there should not be a reaction. I am only afraid that it will not be in time or sufficiently strong to influence the decision of the Parliament.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, &c. K.G.,
Stowe, Buckingham.

The Duke of Wellington did not approve of the dissolution, but the King had no other course to pursue. It would have been extremely rash, whatever his Majesty's private opinions may have been, to have dismissed his Ministers, and recalled their predecessors to his councils. No prudent politician would have suggested such a step; indeed, the acts of the Government had made it full of risk to the Crown. The King was therefore necessitated to comply with the proposals of his confidential advisers; and the leaders of the Opposition were left to fight their own battle as well as they could. Their leader, notwithstanding all efforts of intimi-

dation, abated not one jot of his spirit. As if he had either information that encouraged him to continue the stand he had made, or was convinced that there was no safety except in uncompromising opposition, he evidently resolved to fight the battle inch by inch.

The section of his former associates that had abandoned the Duke, were alive to the danger that menaced them. Their sentiments may be understood by the following communication:—

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

St. James's Palace, 4 o'clock p.m., May 22, 1831.

DEAR DUKE,

In reply to your Grace's note just received, I beg to state, if the party will follow my advice there will be *no division*. According to my views, all we have to do—I mean the Conservative peers—is to show ourselves regularly every evening in our places among them. By showing *when* we can the knavery, selfishness, infamy, and despotism of their plans, we thus prove to the country that we still exist, and will not bow down to King Grey. Dividing can do no good at present. What we are to do on the report and third reading is a question well worth ripely and seriously considering; but we should not now show weakness. *I* am under the necessity of going for reasons too obvious to your Grace for me to explain. Should anything occur for me to write to you, you may depend on hearing from me. *I* shall ever be to be found at my post, but think it *better* for *you*, being unwell, to nerve

yourself for another occasion, as I know *you* are STANCH, and I can depend on your support.

Yours most truly,
ERNEST.

The elections proceeded, and as strenuous exertions were made to influence them, it is not surprising that many of the constituencies returned supporters of the Government; while others of a still more liberal tendency returned ostensible supporters, pledged to measures the Government had pronounced against. It was not, however, thought to be a time for dissensions of any kind. As long as the candidate was not in alliance with the Opposition, his extreme views were rarely objected to. Indeed, some of the Whigs expressed themselves in language that the most free-spoken demagogues would have found it difficult to exceed in democratic tendency. In more than one instance, the speaker was a man of aristocratic connexions, who, like the heedless artificer in one of Hogarth's pictures, was thus industriously dividing from him the support on which he rested.

On the 14th of June the Parliament thus returned assembled to make choice of a Speaker, and once more the election fell upon Mr. Manners Sutton. On the following day the Commons had presented their Speaker to the Lord Chancellor, and the royal assent had been given. His Majesty proceeded in state to the House of Lords, and

opened the session on the 21st. The speech from the throne stated that a new election had been had recourse to for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of the people on the expediency of a reform in the representation; and it recommended the question to their most attentive consideration, confident that in any measure that might be proposed for its adjustment they would carefully adhere to the acknowledged principles of the constitution, by which the prerogatives of the Crown, the authority of both Houses of Parliament, and the rights and liberties of the people, are equally secured. The usual paragraph respecting the friendly disposition of foreign Powers was followed by a notice of the affairs of Belgium, and of the state of our relations with Portugal. The necessity of a wise and wholesome economy in the estimates, and the probability of a further decrease of taxation, were then adverted to; reference was made to the threatened approach of the cholera, and to the distress and disturbances that had prevailed in Ireland; and though it was stated that there was no necessity for making new laws to strengthen the executive Government, the last paragraph expressed a conviction that Parliament would maintain the peace and order of society by the adoption of whatever measures might be required for that purpose.

The debate on the address in the House of Lords in answer to the King's speech was interrupted by some eccentricities of manner on the part of the

Lord Chancellor, which some of the peers endeavoured to correct. Subsequently Earl Grey ventured to attack the Duke of Cumberland, which elicited from his Royal Highness a protest against the misrepresentations with which he had been assailed. Earl Falmouth complained of another misrepresentation made by the Minister. Many speeches were delivered, principally respecting reform and the conduct of the Government after the dissolution, particularly referring to the illuminations and riots; but the Marquis of Lansdowne spoke of the mischief occasioned by the mob as of very slight importance.

The Marquis of Londonderry then described the damage done to his own house, and asked to whom he was to look for redress. He attacked the Government measure, and denounced the conduct of Ministers as most pernicious to the country. An explanation was attempted by Lord Melbourne, but it only elicited a more thorough exposure from the Earl of Mansfield. The Lord Chancellor next tried his hand at an apology, but with no better success, though with greater ability. After a few more remarks from Lord Farnham, Lord Plunket, and the Earl of Roden, the address was agreed to without a division.

The same day, in the House of Commons, Mr. Hunt commenced proceedings by threatening several motions, one being to punish any peer or prelate interfering in elections with a fine of 10,000*l.* and

a year's imprisonment in Newgate. The address in answer to the King's speech produced a moderate speech from Sir Robert Peel, an equally temperate defence from Lord Althorp, a severe attack from Lord Mahon, the customary diatribe from Mr. Hume, and some discursive comments by Mr. Hunt threatening a motion for universal suffrage when the Reform Bill went into committee. Several other speeches were made, but, as in the other House, the address was carried without a division.

The following day, on the report upon the address being brought up, Mr. Hume recommended strict economy to Ministers. Mr. O'Connell brought under the consideration of the House the position of the Poles, and then described the state of Ireland; and Mr. Hunt withdrew the motion he had given notice of the previous day.

It will be seen that in the House of Commons affairs were likely to proceed much in the same course as in last session. Although there were many additions of strength to the Government—persons pledged to vote for "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill"—the programme of parliamentary performances had been repeated with scarcely any perceptible variation; the announcement "by particular desire" apparently referring, as before, to the principal actors.

In these calm political times it is scarcely possible to imagine the excitement that existed through-

out the summer of the year 1831, or the latitude permitted to a certain class of publications in reviling the monarchy, abusing the aristocracy, and circulating the grossest libels upon distinguished public characters. It is necessary, therefore, to give a sample or two of the sentiments which the Radical reformers in and out of Parliament countenanced, if they did not avow. A cheap periodical, styled *The Poor Man's Guardian*, thus commented on the King and his Government:—

"We maintain that the act of Messrs. Capet, Polignac, &c., which so deservedly lost Charles X. of France his throne, and consigned Polignac, &c., to imprisonment, was not more arbitrary nor atrocious than the present proceedings of Messrs. *Guelph*, Grey, Brougham, Denman, &c. The French tyrants intended to destroy the liberty of the press (which is the very key and safeguard of every other liberty); the English tyrants intend the same. What difference, then, is there between the acts of *Capet*, &c., and this act of *Guelph*, &c.? Why, there is this, and this only difference. The act of *Capet*, &c., was the act of a hero, and the act of *Guelph*, &c., of a dastardly assassin. . . . . But *William Guelph* and his minions, although they think they have the right, and also the power, to do as they please with their own people, yet have not courage enough to bite with their own teeth. They have not courage to bite with their own weapons; they will not sully their own bright

sword; but *they will mangle us with the teeth of a diseased bloodhound. They will stab us with the dagger of a dead assassin. Cowardly tyrants!*"

This was the kind of rant spoken and circulated among trades' unions and corresponding societies, and was well known to those who considered themselves exclusively the representatives of the people.

The advice given in the same article was thus expressed:—"Charles Capet and his minions deliberated and ordered, or caused their armed slaves to violate, in endeavouring to suppress their popular papers, not the laws, but the rights and liberties of the whole people of France; and William Guelph and his minions have doubtless deliberated and ordered, or caused the violation, not of the laws, but the rights and liberties of the whole people of England by their present endeavours to destroy penny publications. The people of France resisted the tyrannical attempt, hurled the tyrant from the throne, and caged, as they would tigers, his minions. And are the people of England such sorry slaves that they can only talk and sing of freedom? Will not they, too, resist the laws of these tyrants? Will not they, too, have a glorious revolution? We must resist it; for be the laws binding on you, they are not on us. We have not consented to them. We have always condemned them. We have never authorized, but have ever denied the power of any man, or any set of men, or any William Guelph, or any other Guelph, to control our actions and make

laws for us. We deny such power now, and we will not be bound by their laws."

Such sentiments may have been considered very fine by the writer, but bore a suspicious resemblance to the celebrated declaration that had issued from Tooley-street. The reader, however, will not fail to observe the studied paralled with the late revolutionary movements in France made by the writer; but many persons of his peculiar way of thinking chose to go a little further back in French history to gratify their imitative faculty, and in their correspondence affected the forms and jargon fashionable among Republicans in the Reign of Terror.

Hetherington, the publisher of the *Poor Man's Guardian*, had been summoned before a magistrate for infringing the laws, and condemned to pay a fine. This elicited from a writer in *The Republican, or the Sovereignty of the People*, the following appeal:—

"Fellow-citizens! an honest British citizen for having published untaxed useful [?] knowledge, tending to open the eyes of the bamboozled multitude, has been summoned to Bow-street office, there put on a footing with pickpockets, and has been condemned to pay the penalty mentioned in the Act of Parliament. But *Citizen Hetherington* does not acknowledge the validity of an Act of Parliament under which he has been convicted. It is not binding on him. He has nothing to do with it except to defy it. And why does he defy it? Because he had no representative in the Parliament

in which this villanous ordinance was passed. He considers the damnable knowledge-taxing mandate of the boroughmongering parliamentarians as much binding on the unrepresented people of England, as the contemptible, impotent ordinances of Charles Capet were binding on the people of France. He who approves or enforces them must be *a devilish malignant fiend, and ought to be hunted out of civilized society.* He who submits to them is a contemptible, abject, and cowardly slave, a disgrace to his country, and an enemy to his fellow-citizens. Acting on this incontrovertible principle, he defies the ordinances of self-elected tyrants. He appeals to his fellow-citizens to support him in his honest, public-spirited exertions. His publications were instituted for the sole benefit of the cheated, plundered, and insulted multitude, to whom he appeals for protection against the diabolical machinations of *the villains in power.*"

It should here be stated that "Citizen Hetherington" was a publisher of penny political publications, and that he had carried on this trade with considerable profit since the agitation for the Reform Bill had commenced. The more abusive they became, the more democratic they were esteemed; and all persons professing Republicanism supported them. The prosecution would of course put an end to the trade, as well as to the circulation of revolutionary opinions; hence the spirit in which the appeal just quoted was written.

But that no mistake should be made as to the character of these papers, we add a short extract from another, called *The Prompter*, published on the 18th of June, which is a general attack on sovereigns. The writer stated—

"I make no exception. The royal family of England is as great an evil in England as the royal family of Spain is in Spain, of Portugal in Portugal, of France in France, of Prussia in Prussia, of Turkey in Turkey. . . . With the voice of a man, with the spirit of a good man and a citizen struggling to be free, *I cry out to all Europe*, and more particularly to my own countrymen, *down with kings, priests, and lords*. . . . Either in war or in peace, kingcraft, priestcraft, and lordcraft is *a system of murder, plunder, and spoliation;* then down with kings, priests, and lords."

Such were the sentiments expressed by the acknowledged organs of the working classes, which found an immense circulation in the manufacturing towns of England and Scotland; and such the fruit of a political agitation that had rendered the industrious discontented and the idle bent on mischief. When brought under the observation of the advocates of popular rights, they were either treated with affected ridicule, or were said to emanate, not from the democratic but from the aristocratic section of society, as may be seen by the debate in the House of Commons that took place on Mr. Hunt presenting a petition against taxes on the press.

On the 23rd of June, his Majesty sent the usual answer to the address, and discussions followed in the House of Peers respecting an alleged abuse of patronage in Ireland, the Beer Bill, and the employment of labourers. On the same day, Mr. Hunt brought under the attention of the House of Commons a conflict that had taken place in Ireland between the military and the populace, in which several of the latter had been killed or wounded. It appeared from an account given by Mr. Maxwell, that the yeomanry had been fired upon by a disorderly mob assembled for an unlawful purpose, and that they had been obliged to return the fire in self-defence. Mr. Hunt was again upon his legs shortly afterwards, delivering his sentiments upon universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and vote by ballot. Scarcely had he sat down, when he was up and going over the same ground. Alderman Waithman, a rival popular orator, complained of this abuse of the public time, which immediately brought Mr. Hunt on his legs to abuse the alderman.

The following day, in the House of Lords, the Earl of Shrewsbury made a speech on the subject of repeal of the Union. Subsequently, Lord Plunket entered into a defence of a charge that had been brought against him of offering a situation for electioneering services, which he pronounced "a colourless falsehood." A peer interposed, assuring him that no one believed the accusation.

After remarks from Lords Londonderry, Eldon, and Ellenborough, the conversation was allowed to drop; then came a discussion on tithes. Subsequently, the Earl of Aberdeen gave an exposition of the foreign policy of the Government, and the state of our relations with other Powers; this forced an explanation from Earl Grey. Then the Duke of Wellington gave a review of circumstances that had recently occurred, and recommended the Government to look at the serious situation in which not only Portugal, but all Europe might be placed, if a proper course were not taken.

The 24th was rendered memorable by Lord John Russell, for the second time, introducing to the House of Commons a Ministerial measure on reform, upon which he spoke at considerable length. After a few remarks from Sir Robert Peel, Lord Althorp, and Mr. Stanley, leave was given to bring in the Bill. Lord Milton next moved for returns of reports on the corn trade, which after a short debate were ordered.

On the 27th there was a discussion in the House of Commons on some recent riots in Scotland, followed by another on the prosecution of Mr. O'Connell, when a member alluded to the discrepancy that existed between the professions the Government made to him last session, and the facts that had transpired since the dissolution. He concluded by asking for the correspondence that had passed between the Government and their legal

advisers. Mr. Stanley refused the papers. Mr. O'Connell promised to second the motion, should one be made, for the correspondence. Sir Charles Wetherell passed severe strictures on the proceedings of Ministers with relation to this case.

Shortly afterwards the House considered the ordnance, navy, army, and other estimates, with some comments from Messrs. Hume and Hunt; but with no opposition. Indeed, the former expressly stated that he intended to let Ministers do as they pleased with the public money till after the Reform Bill was passed, when they might be sure he would scrutinize their proceedings more closely than ever.

On the estimates being proposed for the Irish yeomanry, Mr. O'Connell made a furious attack upon that force, and ended with an amendment for a reduction in the sum required. Mr. Stanley, Lord Althorp, Colonel Percival, and other members defended the Government and the yeomanry. Mr. Hume would not embarrass Ministers by opposition. A member eulogized the conduct of the English yeomanry; and Mr. Hunt considered them useless; having concluded his speech, and two other members having spoken on the subject, he got up to renew his observations, and was with difficulty made to sit down; only, however, to deliver himself of "more last words" a short time afterwards. He subsequently contrived to be heard on two other occasions. The amend-

ment was eventually withdrawn, and the original resolution agreed to.

In a discussion that occurred in the Commons on the 28th, a member directed the attention of the House to the offensive character of the Radical publications. The extracts he read from *The Poor Man's Guardian, The Republican, or the Sovereignty of the People, The Prompter*, were of the most Red Republican stamp, advocating assassination, the annihilation of royalty and aristocracy, and virulently abusing every power in the State. Mr. Hume replied at great length, endeavouring to screen his clients by showing the inutility of prosecutions. Mr. O'Connell spoke to the same purpose.

After a statement of the views of the Government on the subject by the Attorney-General, Sir Robert Peel exposed the arguments of Messrs. Hume and O'Connell. Subsequently Mr. Hunt rose twice, but the impatience of the House was so manifest that he could say but little. A variety of discussions shortly afterwards followed each other, the last being on a motion of Lord Duncannon respecting the Buckingham House Garden Wall Bill going into Committee, when Mr. Hume spoke six times.

On the 29th there was another discussion on the Radical publications, when Mr. Hume again attempted an apology. Sir Charles Wetherell pointed out a marked similarity between the opinions of

Mr. Hume and those expressed in the libellous periodicals. Mr. O'Connell came to the rescue of his colleague, and Mr. Hunt once more referred to the increase in the sale of such publications in consequence of the publicity given to their existence by the attention Parliament had bestowed upon them. Subsequently Mr. Bennett directed the attention of the House to the notorious corruption that had distinguished the late election for Liverpool; but on proposing a motion on the subject, the House was counted, and less than forty members were found to have retained their places.

On the following day, in the House of Lords, the Marquis of Londonderry, on presenting a petition against reform from Durham, dwelt on opinions lately expressed at a public meeting in that county, then read extracts from a pamphlet called "Friendly Advice most respectfully submitted to the Lords on the Reform Bill," and declared his intention to maintain to the last hour of his existence the privileges and independence of the House.

In the Commons, after a debate on the Beer Trade, Mr. Alderman Wood brought forward a motion for the reduction of public salaries, which Mr. Hunt seconded. Lord Althorp having opposed the motion, Mr. Hunt again rose, and accused the Government of having two sets of opinions, in and out of office. He delivered himself of a long speech. Colonel Sibthorp made some observations. Mr. Hunt explained. Mr. Hume defended Ministers,

and wondered at the bold misrepresentations that had been made. Mr. Hunt explained again. Mr. O'Connell also opposed the motion. Several other members addressed the House. But on the division there were only thirteen voted for the motion, and two hundred and sixteen against it.

A discussion followed respecting a general register of deeds, after which came a warm debate on the affray at Newtonbarry. Mr. Stanley subsequently introduced the Irish Reform Bill, and brought forward a motion respecting public works in Ireland.

Mr. Hunt, early as it was in the session, had already made several extraordinary exhibitions of himself, but the following scene, which occurred in the House of Commons on the 1st of July, so well portrays the singular manner in which that member fulfilled his parliamentary duties, that we cannot help quoting it as a fair specimen of the intelligence and taste of a popular representative.

Mr. Hunt presented a petition from the inhabitants of Stockport, objecting to the Reform Bill, as not going far enough. The hon. member read the whole of the petition, which was couched in violent and abusive language, directed principally against the Church.

During the reading of this petition the House exhibited marks of strong disgust and impatience, which, however, were repressed by the Speaker; but as soon as the orator had concluded,

The Speaker said, "What does the hon. member propose to do with that petition?"

Mr. Hunt.—"To bring it up."

The Speaker.—"The hon. member has been a member of this House long enough to have enabled him to learn that the first duty of a member of the House of Commons, to whom petitions are entrusted, is to make himself acquainted with the contents of such petitions; and having seen that the petitions are respectfully and decently worded, then to exercise his discretion on the subject matter of the petition. Now the wording of this petition is neither respectful, nor even decent, and I cannot but feel persuaded that if the hon. member had ever read it before, he would not have presented it to the House."

Mr. W. Peel hoped the House would not receive a petition couched in such gross language, and containing such offensive attacks. Mr. O'Connell intimated the extreme improbability of the petitioners' having an intention of insulting the House. The Speaker replied that the hon. and learned member must see that when gross and offensive language is selected by petitioners, the fair presumption is, that they do not mean to treat the House with any very great respect. Mr. Hunt professed to have read the whole of the petition except the passage complained of, and finding the sense of the House against its being received, he said he was willing to withdraw it. He immediately produced

another petition, suggesting the probability of there being something wrong in it. The Speaker repeated his previous observations respecting the duty of members. Mr. Hunt offered to wait and read it over, but more than one member spoke against his proceeding, and though he strove to excuse himself, the Speaker admonished him, and the scene ended.[1] Mr. Hunt did not profit much by it, for in a subsequent debate on the repeal of the Union, he repeated his familiar account of the Manchester riot till he was coughed down.

Sir H. Hardinge having inquired from Mr. Hume whether he was prepared to substantiate an assertion made by him in a previous debate, that an offensive passage quoted from the republican press had emanated from the party opposed to the Government, Mr. Hume entered into an extraordinary statement, and quoted a letter he had received that morning, addressed to *Citizen* Hume, in which the writer acknowledged himself the author of the atrocious passages alluded to, and treated the statement that he had anything to do with either Whigs or Tories as an absurd error; nevertheless, Mr. Hume expressed himself quite satisfied that he was in the service of the Opposition.

Sir H. Hardinge stated that the House must agree with him that a more impotent explanation had never been attempted. He appealed to Mr. Hume's "candour and manliness;" but, as might

[1] "Hansard." Third Series, iv. 578.

have been anticipated, without the slightest success. The extravagant assertion of Mr. Hume was repeated more recklessly. Sir Robert Peel said that any man of common honesty or common sense would resort to such an infamous proceeding, it was impossible to believe; and that the accusation contradicted while it refuted itself.

It should be borne in mind that this was not the first time that Mr. Hume had distinguished himself by bringing forward reckless charges. In the preceding Government he had accused the Duke of Wellington of having caused the conflagrations of agricultural produce and destruction of machinery that had occurred in several English counties. He had not the slightest grounds for either charge, and the alleged communication to "Citizen Hume" had probably the same foundation.

The House then went into Committee, and considered the coal, barilla, and raw-cotton duties, and afterwards the miscellaneous estimates. Mr. Hume indulged himself in some offensive remarks against the inmates of Hampton Court Palace; and Mr. Hunt said that Lord Grey had entered into a coalition with the members of his family, at an annual expense to the country of 68,000*l*. Lord Althorp denounced the coalition as an absurdity. Lord Howick expressed his opinion that the accusation ought to have been treated with silent and utter contempt. Subsequently the Lord Advocate brought in the Scottish Reform Bill.

On the 4th of July the Duke of Wellington inquired whether his Majesty had given any instructions respecting the customary ceremony of a coronation. Earl Grey having replied that he had received no commands, the Duke asked if his Majesty had taken certain oaths which were required by law within a certain time after his accession. Earl Grey then acknowledged that a coronation was necessary, and that the oaths must be taken, but stated that there were reasons existing at present for a postponement of the ceremony. Discussions followed on the Beer Bill and on lieutenants of counties.

After a skirmish between Messrs. Hunt and O'Connell on the repeal of the Union, Lord John Russell moved the order of the day for the second reading of the Reform Bill. Sir John B. Walsh proposed as an amendment that the Bill be read that day six months. It was seconded by Mr. Fynes Clinton. Sir James Mackintosh made a long and able speech in support of the Government measure. Mr. Cumming Bruce, Mr. Cutler Ferguson, Lord Porchester, and Mr. Gally Knight having also addressed the House, the debate was adjourned. It was resumed on the following day, when among the distinguished speakers were Mr. E. Lytton Bulwer, Mr. Macaulay, Lord Althorp, and Sir George Murray. The debate was again adjourned.

On the 6th of July, on Mr. Denison moving for

a new writ for Liverpool, a member moved that the entry on the Journals of the resolutions of the 29th of March for deferring its issue should be read; his object being that no writ should be issued until a motion announced by Mr. Bennett had been disposed of. Subsequently there was the third day's debate on the Reform Bill; the most powerful displays of oratory were those of Sir Charles Wetherell and Sir Robert Peel. After a reply from Lord John Russell the House divided, when the numbers were—For the second reading, 367; against it, 231. Ministers therefore had a clear majority of 136. This appeared to be overwhelming and conclusive as regarded the fate of the Bill in the Commons, and its supporters became confident of success.

In the House of Lords discussions of little public interest at this time continued. On one which arose out of a motion of Lord Melbourne, that the House resolve itself into a Committee on the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland Bill, the Duke of Wellington offered some suggestions, and Earl Grey explained that it was not the intention of the Government to abolish the office of Lord Lieutenant. In the House of Commons a discussion occurred on reform petitions, and Mr. Hunt distinguished himself as usual. When Mr. Evelyn Denison moved for the issue of the Liverpool writ, a member inquired of Mr. Bennett whether he proposed to proceed with the motion of which he had previously given notice. Mr.

Bennett expressed himself disinclined. Sir C. Clerk moved an amendment to adjourn the debate, and the debate proceeded to a division, when the numbers were—For the amendment, 117; against it, 99. The House next went into a Committee of Supply. Several grants were objected to by Mr. Hume; they passed, notwithstanding.

On the 11th of July, a debate in the House of Commons ensued on a member presenting a petition from the borough of Northampton, complaining that the barracks were occupied by the voters of one party during the late election, to the exclusion of the troops quartered there, who, had their services been required to quell a disturbance, must have been much inconvenienced by having been deprived of their quarters. On his inquiring what proceedings had taken place in consequence of such illegal conduct, Mr. Spring Rice stated that he was not aware of the circumstance. Sir Thomas Fremantle testified to the fact, and to the scene of confusion it produced. Sir H. Hardinge reflected on the conduct of the officer in command, as well as on the Government. Mr. Vernon Smith, one of the Government members, denied that any influence had been exercised on the voters. Mr. Charles Ross, however, proved that the statement was true in all its particulars.

After a few words from Colonel Evans and Mr. O'Connell to screen the Government, the member said that there was an evident intention on the

part of the Government to interfere in the late Northampton election, and for this reason he was not satisfied with the answer he had received. He should therefore take what steps he thought proper. Mr. Hunt offered to move that the barrack-master be called to the bar, but his proposition was not accepted.

There were subsequent discussions on the Waterloo Bridge New Street Bill—when both Messrs. Hume and Hunt objected that the new street would be of no benefit—the Customs Acts, the Castle Pollard affray, and the case of Sir A. B. King, who held the patent of King's stationer in Ireland.

The following day, in the House of Lords, on bringing up the report on the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland Bill, the Marquis of Londonderry entered into an explanation respecting some remarks on the subject he had previously made that had been misunderstood, and the comments it had produced. Lord Plunket replied; and after some observations by Lord Farnham and Lord Melbourne, the clauses of the Bill were read, agreed to, and the Bill ordered to be printed.

On the same day, in the House of Commons, there was a discussion on tithes in Ireland, when Mr. O'Connell, after denying that there was any combination in that country against their payment, acknowledged that there was so effectual a one that it prevented the sale of distrained cattle. A message was received from the King recommending

to the consideration of the House "the making of such a provision as may be adequate to the maintenance of her Majesty's royal dignity in case she should survive his Majesty."

Lord Althorp proposed "that a provision be made for the Queen, in case she should survive his Majesty, of 100,000*l.* per annum during her life to support her royal dignity, together with a suitable town residence, and the house and lands at Bushy Park; and that the said sum be issued and paid out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

Sir Robert Inglis suggested an outfit; no other member spoke on the subject, and the resolution was agreed to *nemine contradicente.*

The Parliamentary Reform Bill went into Committee. After a motion had been negatived by a majority of 97 to hear counsel at the bar for the condemned boroughs, another motion for an adjournment of the debate was negatived by a majority of 226; a similar motion was decided by a majority of 196. An amendment, proposed by Sir Charles Wetherell, was then disposed of by a majority of 172; another motion for adjournment was decided by a majority of 170. Lord Stormont again moved an adjournment, which produced a majority of 166; a subsequent motion to the same effect was disposed of by a majority of 162; and another, that produced one of 163. Finally, the House adjourned at nearly eight in the morning.

On the 13th of July, in the Lords, Lord Farnham brought the Newtownbarry affray before the House, and exposed the misrepresentations that had been made respecting it, while he proved the general conspiracy that existed in Ireland to elude the payment of taxes and set the Government at defiance. He ended by moving for a copy of the evidence taken before the gentlemen sent by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland to inquire into the affair, as well as the reports of the chief constable of police and of the Inspector-General. Lord Melbourne opposed the motion on the ground that the papers required were of a confidential nature, and as the transaction was still under investigation it would be most impolitic to produce such documents. Lord Farnham acquiesced, and withdrew his motion.

After some minor matters had been disposed of, the House of Commons renewed the debate in Committee on the Reform Bill, the preamble coming on for consideration subsequently to a discussion relating to delegates from Trades Unions and Political Unions. Mr. C. W. Wynn proposed the postponement of Schedule A. Sir Edward Sugden attacked it in a powerful speech, and supported the amendment. Lord Althorp, Sir Robert Peel, and other members addressed the House on the subject, but on a division there was a majority for Ministers of 118.

In the course of the third day's debate on the

Bill going into Committee, Sir Edward Sugden, Sir Charles Wetherell, and Sir Robert Peel, renewed their objections, and were replied to by Lord Althorp and Lord John Russell. Mr. Hunt, in the course of the evening, made a furious attack upon the press. On a division the Government had a majority of 97.

On the 15th, in the Lords, the Marquis of Londonderry directed the attention of the House to the negotiations that had for some time been carried on between this country and Belgium, and asked for information. Earl Grey, in reply, stated that whenever his Majesty's Ministers thought it would be convenient and safe, with a view to the public interests, to communicate the information required, it would be given.

On the same day, in the House of Commons, after another Irish discussion, followed the fourth day's debate on the Reform Bill in Committee; the first clause was considered, and an amendment proposed by Sir Andrew Agnew, which produced an animated discussion, but no division.

On the 18th there was a debate in the House of Lords on the Tithe Commutation Bill, in which the Lord Chancellor explained the right of the Church to tithes. The Bill was read a second time. Earl Grey then referred to the fact of Prince Leopold being called to the throne of Belgium, and to communications received by him from his Royal Highness on the subject of the income settled on

him by Parliament at his marriage with the Princess Charlotte. A letter from the Prince, bearing the date July 15th, was then read, which it is but justice to his Royal Highness to give here *in extenso*.

THE KING OF BELGIUM TO EARL GREY.

Marlborough House.

MY DEAR LORD GREY,

Before I quit the country, I am desirous to state in writing the intentions and views which I had the pleasure of communicating to you verbally this morning, on the subject of my British annuity.

As Sovereign of Belgium, it is not my intention to draw from this country any portion of the income which was settled upon me by Act of Parliament at the period of my marriage. Your lordship is, however, well aware that up to the very moment of my leaving England I have maintained my establishments here upon their accustomed footing, and that, consequently, there remain to be fulfilled and discharged pecuniary engagements and outstanding debts, to an amount which it is quite impossible for me to state at the present time with precision. As soon, therefore, as I shall have accomplished the payment of these demands, it is my intention to make over into the hands of trustees, whom I will without loss of time appoint, the whole of the annuity which I receive from this country as trust for the following purposes:—

I shall require my trustees to maintain in a state of complete habitation and of repair the house, gardens, and park at Claremont; and further, to pay all the salaries, pensions, and allowances which I shall deem a proper

reward to those persons who have claims upon me for their faithful services during my residence in this country. I shall, in addition, require them to continue all those charities and annual donations to charitable institutions which have been allowed or subscribed to either by the Princess Charlotte or by myself up to the present period.

All these objects having been fulfilled, it is my wish and desire that the remainder shall be repaid into the British Exchequer.

I remain, my dear Lord Grey,

Most faithfully yours,

LEOPOLD.

The Prince also resigned his colonelcy of the 5th Regiment of Dragoons.

The Duke of Wellington congratulated the House and the country on the course which his Royal Highness had adopted, and said that this conduct would show to the people whom the Prince was about to govern that their Sovereign was above even the suspicion of dependence on a foreign country.

Among the discussions that took place in the House of Commons on the same day, there was a short one on the probable expense of the coronation, when Lord Althorp stated that the subject was under the consideration of the Government. Prince Leopold's surrender of his annuity was brought under the attention of the House, when Lord Althorp, Sir Robert Peel, Sir George War-

render, and Mr. George Robinson, warmly expressed their satisfaction. Mr. O'Connell next made another attack on the Irish yeomanry, after which the miscellaneous estimates were considered, when an attempt was made to diminish the pensions, but on a division Ministers were in a majority of 101. Several other proposed grants were agreed to without opposition.

CHAPTER XIII.

[1831.]

PARTIES IN FRANCE—THE NEW KING OF THE BELGIANS—MR. LONG WELLESLEY COMMITTED TO PRISON BY THE LORD CHANCELLOR—PROSECUTIONS AGAINST SEDITIOUS PUBLICATIONS—IDEAS OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON RESPECTING THE CORONATION, AND RUMOURED CREATION OF PEERS—OPINIONS OF THE DUKE ON LOUIS PHILIPPE AND WILLIAM IV.—DEBATES ON THE DEMOLITION OF THE BELGIAN FORTRESSES—VISIT OF THE KING AND QUEEN TO VIEW NEW LONDON BRIDGE—INCREASED ALLOWANCE TO THE PRINCESS VICTORIA—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON ON REFORM OPINIONS—INVASION OF BELGIUM BY THE DUTCH.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE state of affairs in France continued to show an increase in the King's unpopularity. Three parties now began to make themselves seen and heard—the supporters of a constitutional monarchy, who were favourable to peace; the Red Republicans, who were violent for war; and the Carlists, or friends of the exiled Bourbons. Their intrigues kept society in a constant state of ferment, particularly in Paris, where a serious disturbance took place in the middle of June, that continued two days, and was only terminated by an overwhelming array of military and police. As a sign of the times a tree of liberty was planted at Beauclaire, in the south of France, and on the troops being called to remove it, they fraternized with the people, and afterwards abandoned the service. Similar commotions took place in the important manufacturing city of Lyons.

The "citizen King," who had, shortly after he had been invested with royalty, been in the habit of burlesquing Haroun Alraschid, to the astonishment of the people of Paris, by appearing every-

where as a private person, with a cotton umbrella under his arm, was now content to have the protection of the customary attendants in his promenades, and evidently preferred more state, as well as increased security. There could be no question, however, that the French people began to have misgivings as to the wisdom of their choice, and, like the frogs in the classic fable, were doubtful that King Stork was an improvement on King Log.

The people of Belgium had at last, as we have intimated, come to a determination respecting the form of Government best adapted for their country; and in a National Congress held on the 4th of June elected as their King by a majority of 152 to 15, Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg—the second crown that had been proffered him. Wisely had he declined the sovereignty of Greece, and as sagaciously did he accept that of Belgium. The long period of increasing prosperity which followed this acceptance has proved the wisdom both of the Congress in selecting such a Prince for their ruler, and of the Prince in agreeing to govern such a country.

The new King of the Belgians left London on the morning of the 16th of July, accompanied by the deputation that had been sent to offer him the crown, and having entered his dominions on the Monday following, was welcomed with a most enthusiastic reception from all classes of his subjects. He proceeded to the palace at Brussels, having signed the Constitution in sight of the people, amid

the most joyful acclamations of the inhabitants; and the city was brilliantly illuminated in honour of the event.

The campaign of the Russians in Poland, though at first it commenced unfavourably, was now drawing to a close, despite of the most heroic resistance to the armies of the empire on the part of the Poles.

In the House of Lords, on the 19th of July, the Lord Chancellor brought forward a Bill for the abolition of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, which was read a first time. A few days before his lordship had nearly come into collision with the House of Commons by committing one of its members—Mr. Long Wellesley—to prison for a contempt of court, he having taken away his youngest daughter from her appointed guardian. The Lord Chancellor wrote a letter to the Speaker informing him of Mr. Wellesley's arrest; and to an application of the Serjeant-at-Arms to surrender him as a member of the House, he gave a decided refusal. A few days afterwards Mr. Wellesley restored his daughter, submitted to the court, and was discharged out of custody.

Several prosecutions were instituted against seditious publications. The Rev. Robert Taylor, a clergyman formerly of the Church of England, who had written several deistical works, and been in the habit of lecturing on religion at a place known as the Rotunda in the Blackfriars-road, was, on the

4th of July, convicted of blasphemy, after a trial that lasted twelve hours, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine of 200*l.* Three days later, Mr. Cobbett was tried for a libel tending to excite the peasantry to acts of destruction, but escaped punishment because the jury could not agree in their verdict.

From the 19th to the 22nd, the Reform Bill dragged its slow length along in Committee. There were several divisions, but all largely in favour of the Government. There was another subject that excited considerable interest. This was the approaching coronation of the King and Queen. No valid excuse existed for its delay, but hitherto the Government appeared as if scrupulous of exciting the prejudices of their democratic supporters by so imposing a demonstration of royalty. In other quarters there existed a desire to have so necessary a ceremony proceeded with. The Duke of Wellington had made inquiries on the subject in the House of Lords, and the Duke of Buckingham had applied to his Grace for information. The rumour of a creation of peers to carry the Reform Bill had already been set in motion, as may be seen from the following communication :—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, July 22, 1831.

My dear Duke,

I was out of London yesterday and the day before; and could not answer your letter.

We hear every day of peers to be created; and I confess that I concur with you in thinking that Lord Grey will stick at nothing. There can scarcely be a question about the King, considering what his Majesty has done by *dissolution*.

I asked the question about the coronation, because I really thought that it was not fit that the second summer should be allowed to elapse without this ceremony, without any cause whatever for the delay: considering the nature of the obligations imposed upon the King by the oath, and considering that H.M. had crowned himself on the 22nd of April, the day of the dissolution of Parliament.

The coronation will afford a pretence for creating some peers. But it is a pretence only. They will be created for the purpose of the destruction of the monarchy.

In respect to the ceremony, I don't see how it is possible for any persons to drive the Government, and force the Government to incur an expense which they say they do not think necessary, and which ought not to be incurred. In my opinion we cannot meddle with the ceremony. All that we have a right to expect is that the King shall be crowned in the usual manner before his people.

In respect to attendance, I have to observe that the peers each of them take a very important oath in the ceremonial in the church. In conversation with the

King, I urged the importance to him of this oath; and I would not absent myself. I don't think that you would like to be absent either.

Believe me, ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham
and Chandos, K.G.

On the 23rd of July the King of France opened the Chambers with a speech that had a startling effect on some of his subjects. He was no longer the gentle "citizen King" of the unpretending promenades about Paris; he spoke loudly and boldly, particularly of his intention to punish the machinations of conspirators, whether Republican or Carlist. He also entered at considerable length, and with much confidence, upon the state of the relations of France with foreign countries. To his Majesty's statements respecting Belgium one well qualified to pronounce an opinion—as will presently be seen—gave an emphatic contradiction. An appearance of popular enthusiasm was got up for the occasion; some demonstration of the kind was considered necessary, the Parisians having begun to plant trees of Liberty, and to evince other indications of their impatience of the existing order of things.

The following communication is remarkable for the picture it affords of the mind of William IV., before the dissolution and after it. The Duke's view of the existing state of affairs is given with his usual precision and determination:—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, July 28, 1831.

My dear Duke,

If you will look at the case of the fortresses, you will see that King Louis Philippe has *lied!* That which has been done has been for four of the Powers interested in them to agree that they will hereafter enter into negotiations with the King of the Belgians for the destruction of some of them.

It does not appear, therefore, that the H. of Lords can at present push the matter farther than it is.

You may rely upon it that there is nobody more anxious than I am to extricate the country from its present difficulties. But I must take care that in the choice of the efforts to be made for that purpose I don't augment their number and their intensity rather than obtain any relief. The King has brought upon himself the existing state of things by the dissolution of Parliament. He says that nobody is disposed to make an effort to extricate him.

Did he listen to the advice given to him not to dissolve his Parliament? Did he believe those who told him that the circumstances which had broken up the former Government no longer existed on the 21st of April? Did he then make an effort, or manifest a wish to make an effort, to extricate himself?

How do we stand now? The King and his Ministers, and a settled majority of the House of Commons, allied with the mob, the Radicals, the Dissenters of all persuasions, against the gentlemen of property of the country, the Church, and all the establishments, religious, commercial, banking, political, &c. &c. Then in respect to the

business in Parliament: we are, in the end of July, in about the situation of business in which the Government generally stands about the 25th of March. The Mutiny Bills are passed; but the greater part of the estimates remain to be voted and the business of the Government to be done. If the King, who says that nobody will extricate him, was to quarrel with Lord Grey to-morrow about coronation robes or any other such material point in discussion, and to wish to change his Ministry, the monarchy might be overturned.

I feel that we have done a great deal to open the eyes of the country. We may and we shall do more. But we must proceed with caution and circumspection; and be prepared, and prepare the public mind, for events which must occur, rather than prematurely create them.

I cannot advise you to come to town. Indeed, I would go out of town myself if I was not afraid that my absence might lead to a belief that I gave up the question of reform as lost.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, &c., K.G.

On the 25th of July the Earl of Aberdeen, in the House of Lords, referred to the speech of the King of the French to the Chambers, and requested to know by what convention the Belgic fortresses were to be demolished, and to what extent the British Government had become a party to this determination. He expressed his regret at the inactivity or impolicy of Ministers in allowing French influence

to prevail in Holland and Portugal. Earl Grey, after promising to defend his policy at a proper time, read a protocol, dated April 17th, signed by Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England, declaring the fortresses on the Belgian frontier too numerous for the resources of the new kingdom, without affording a security for its independence.

The Duke of Wellington stated that the fortresses belonged to the five great Powers, including Holland, acting in conjunction with England—that France had nothing to do with them, having contributed nothing to their construction, and was the last Power that ought to have required or have sanctioned their demolition. A similar debate came on in the House of Commons on the 27th; afterwards the Reform Bill proceeded from clause to clause, with long discussions and frequent divisions, till Schedules B and C had been considered.

On the 1st of August, being the anniversary of the accession of the house of Hanover to the throne of these realms, the King and Queen went by water from Somerset House with their retinues, in thirty state barges, to witness the opening of the new London Bridge. The Lord Mayor and Corporation made extraordinary efforts to entertain their Majesties. On the bridge they provided a military band, a company of German minstrels, a celebrated whistler, and an equally distinguished performer on his chin, with Mr. Green to ascend in his balloon. Their Majesties were of course delighted—certainly

with the structure they had come to inspect. The King ascended the long flight of steps from the water without any appearance of fatigue, and acknowledged the hearty greeting with which he was received by his subjects with much gratification. "Citizen Hetherington's" friends appear to have gone out of town; for every one of the countless multitude of both sexes present showed a lively appreciation of the presence of royalty.

The Lord Mayor (Key) offered the King the keys of the City and the Sword of State, but they were permitted to remain with their ordinary custodians. The royal party then proceeded to a magnificent pavilion that had been erected for their accommodation. Their Majesties witnessed the ascent of "the intrepid aëronaut," as he was usually styled; then inspected different portions of the bridge, attended by loud demonstrations from their loyal subjects. On returning to the pavilion they shared in a magnificent banquet provided by the Corporation.

On the right of the King were seated the Duchesses of Gloucester, Cambridge, and Saxe Weimar, the Duke of Sussex and Prince George of Cumberland; on the left of the Queen the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland and Prince George of Cambridge. There were also present—Prince William of Saxe Weimar, Princess Augusta of Cambridge, Lord and Lady Frederick, Lords Adolphus and Augustus Fitzclarence, Lady Mary Fox, Lady Sophia Lennox, the Marchioness of Wellesley

and Westmeath, Lady Clinton; with the Lord Chamberlain, the Master of the Horse, the Earl Marshal, the Groom of the Stole, the Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, the Gold Stick, the Treasurer of the Household, and all the officers and ladies of the royal household — in short, there was such a display of regality as had not been attempted in the City of London for a considerable period.

The Lord Mayor was permitted to propose the King's health, and Sir Claudius Hunter the Queen's. His Majesty then, out of a gold cup, drank to the Trade and Commerce of the City of London, after which all the royal family partook of "the loving cup." Finally, his Majesty proposed the health of the Lord and Lady Mayoress, when the company returned to their barges; and the procession being increased by the state barges of the Lord Mayor and City companies, all provided with bands, returned to Somerset House with additional picturesque effect. It was very long since the Thames had presented so grand a spectacle, and it appeared to give quite as much satisfaction to the people as to the Court. As a proof of the satisfaction of the King, the Lord Mayor was created a baronet on the following day.

On the same day the King and Queen entered the House of Peers, when his Majesty gave his assent to the Queen's Dower Bill; after which her Majesty rose and curtseyed three times to the gentle-

men below the bar, members of the House of Commons.

On the 3rd of August, a message having been received from the King recommending an increased allowance to the Duchess of Kent and the Princess Victoria, Earl Grey in the House of Peers moved an address respecting the importance of making a further provision for the education, maintenance, and support of the honour and dignity of the Princess as presumptive heiress to the crown, which was agreed to. In the House of Commons Lord Althorp proposed an additional income of 10,000*l.* a year for her Royal Highness's maintenance and education, which was also agreed to.

Schedules D to G of the Reform Bill passed through the Committee after several contests. On the 18th a member moved an amendment on the sixteenth clause, giving every person farming and occupying land for which he had paid a rent of 50*l.* for one year, the right of voting for the county; when the Ministers on a division were in a considerable minority. This was a great blow, and it began to be supposed that a reaction of opinion was commencing.

The Duke of Wellington came forward very little at this time in politics—rarely in the House of Peers except to censure the policy of Ministers with respect to Belgium. His reasons for this apparent inaction are thus stated by himself:—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, August 15, 1831.

My dear Duke,

My mind travels much in the same course as yours in respect to the treatment of the Reform Bill. I do not say much upon the subject, even in private, to the many who come to talk to me upon it; and I have avoided to call a meeting of the opponents of the measure. The reason is, that I think that the anti-reform opinions are gaining ground every day; and that a meeting in a fortnight or three weeks' time will be much more manageable than one which I might call together at present.

As far as I can learn, our majority increases rather than otherwise. I have no doubt that the Ministers would create a hundred peers if necessary to carry their measure; and I am not certain that our royal master would not lend his aid to this act. But I understand that some of their best friends object. One has been mentioned to me—Lord Radnor! I understand likewise that Lord Tavistock and Lord Lichfield have declined to be called up to the House of Lords for this purpose. If this is true, the coronation will occasion the creation of a few peers; but nothing to affect the division on the Bill.

These circumstances increase my anxiety to keep the House of Lords as quiet as possible till the Bill comes up. It would be unfortunate if the House itself was by its own acts to afford a pretence for the destruction of its independence and utility.

In respect to Ireland, we ought to govern that country instead of allowing it to be torn to pieces, as it is by agitators, priests, and demagogues. I passed the R. C. Relief Bill purposely to induce Parliament to give the

Government the power of establishing there something like a social system; and we should have proceeded probably to set right all the wrong which still prevails there. But we were extinguished; and the present Ministers govern by means of the very men whose power must be destroyed before any good can be done.

It would be impossible, in my opinion, to put down the Irish Yeomanry in the existing state of the country. But that body ought to be regulated, and attended to; and, above all, well and kindly treated; otherwise no regulation that can be made for its government could be carried into execution.

Believe me, ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, K.G.,
Stowe, Buckingham.

Scarcely had King Leopold taken possession of his dominions when he was threatened with their loss. The Dutch under General Chassé, by order of the King of Holland, invaded the country in great force on the 4th of August. The King of the Belgians, first sending to the British and French Governments notice of this recommencement of hostilities, took the command of his army, and proceeded to Antwerp; but General Chassé spiked the Belgian cannon, while Dutch vessels sailed up the Scheldt and captured Belgian merchantmen.

The Prince of Orange assumed the chief command of the Dutch army, which entered Belgium at five points; and on the 5th, so spiritless was the

defence of the Belgians, that the Prince, with 40,000 men, had advanced to within fifteen miles of Brussels. In short, although their King did everything that could be required of him, the army of Belgium everywhere exhibited a deplorable want of spirit. The Dutch were allowed to enter Liege and Louvain almost without resistance, and would have regained possession of the country, with very little difficulty, had not a French army of 50,000 men marched to Mons, while an English fleet made a demonstration in another direction. These movements and the remonstrances of the mediating Powers induced the King of Holland to retrace his steps; and on the 15th the King of the Belgians returned to his capital apparently extremely dissatisfied with his subjects.

CHAPTER XIV.

[1831.]

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CORONATION—ORDER OF THE PROCESSION THROUGH THE STREETS—ARRANGEMENTS IN THE ABBEY—THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD AND MINISTERS OF STATE—BEARERS OF THE REGALIA—THE KING AND QUEEN—THE CEREMONY—PUBLIC REJOICINGS—CREATION OF PEERS—THE REFORM BILL CARRIED IN THE COMMONS—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON ON THE STATE OF PARTIES—DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON THE REFORM BILL—LARGE MAJORITY AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT—VIOLENCE OF THE MOB — PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT — RIOTS — INCENDIARY FIRES—SEDITIOUS PROCLAMATIONS—COMMOTIONS IN FRANCE—THE GOVERNMENT AND THE POLITICAL UNIONS—THE NEW REFORM BILL.

CHAPTER XIV.

PREPARATIONS were now being actively made for the coronation of their Majesties, which important ceremonial was announced for the 8th of September; and extensive alterations were made in the ancient Abbey to accommodate the vast assemblage it must then contain. On the morning of the appointed day, numerous labourers in scarlet jackets and white trousers were actively employed in completing the arrangements. About forty private gentlemen acted as pages of the Earl Marshal, attired in a costume, devised for the occasion, of blue frock coats, white breeches and stockings, a crimson silk sash, and a small ill-shaped hat with a black ostrich feather. This dress excited some criticism, but as it had been produced at the expense of the wearers, no very grave objection could be made to it. Each of these pages was provided with a gilt staff, bearing the arms of the Earl Marshal, and his duty was to conduct persons provided with tickets to their proper seats. The heralds also were in attendance to marshal the procession.

Shortly after five o'clock in the morning a royal salute was fired by artillery stationed in the Green

Park, which was taken as a signal for every one interested in the proceedings of the day to be on the move. Company soon began to arrive at the ancient minster, the different doors of which were appropriated to different classes of visitors. At six the household troops arrived in St. James's Park, and were distributed along the thoroughfares through which the procession was to pass. The members of the House of Commons—three-fourths of whom were in military uniform, and a few in Highland costumes—took their accustomed route by Parliament-street; but having arrived at the door of Westminster Hall, found a covered platform raised for their accommodation across to Poet's Corner.

The equipages produced for the occasion added greatly to the splendour of the preliminary portion of the pageant—the Lord Chancellor rivalling the Lord Mayor in this display—and the Austrian Ambassador, Prince Esterhazy, excelling both. Many having to make a long round before they could fall into line, formed a source of attraction to the thousands of spectators of a humbler class that filled the streets from every available point of view.

The street procession formed on Constitution-hill. A squadron of Life Guards preceded two carriages with six horses to each, and a proper escort, one containing the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, attended by Lady Isabella Thynne; and the other Viscount Deerhurst, Lord Edward Thynne, Sir Howard Douglas, and Lieut.-Colonel Edmund

Currey. Then came two other royal carriages in the same manner—one with the Duchess of Cambridge and Lady Elizabeth Murray; the other Lord Villiers and Sir James Henry Reynett, followed by one containing the Duke of Sussex and his suite; and two with the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland and their suite. After them came the King's barge master and forty-eight watermen. They were followed by ten carriages containing the following members of the royal household:—

I. Lieut.-Col. J. Wilson, Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber; Capt. Hen. Murray and Col. Adolphus Cottin, Gentlemen Ushers, Quarterly Waiters to the Queen; and John Bott, Esq., Secretary to the Keeper of the Privy Purse.

II. R. Hon. Frederick Byng and Lieut.-Col. W. G. Master, Gentlemen Ushers of the Privy Chamber to the King; Thomas Ramsden, Esq., Gentleman Usher, Daily Waiter, and John Strachan, Esq., Gentleman Usher, Quarterly Waiters.

III. Major-General James Macdonnell, Principal Equerry to the Queen; Geo. V. Mundy, Esq., and Hon. Charles Grimstone, her Pages of Honour; and F. E. A. Stephenson, Page of Honour to the King.

IV. Captain Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence, R.N., Groom of the Robes; Sir Robert Stopford, Groom of the Bedchamber; Lord Amelius Beauclerc, Principal Naval Aide-de-Camp to the King; and the Hon. Adolphus E. A. Graves, and William H. H. Bathurst, his Pages of Honour.

V. Sir Andrew Barnard, Chief Equerry and Clerk-Marshal to the King; Viscount Valletort, acting Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen; Lord James O'Brien, Lord of the Bedchamber; and Arthur W. F. Somerset, Esq., Page of Honour to his Majesty.

VI. Ladies William Russell and Caroline Wood, Women of the Bedchamber; the Right Hon. Robert Grosvenor, Comptroller to his Majesty's Household; and the Earl of Belfast, his Vice Chamberlain.

VII. The Hon. Misses Mitchell and Sneyd, Maids of Honour; the Right Hon. Sir Wm. Hen. Fremantle, Treasurer of the King's Household; and Sir Henry Wheatley, Keeper of the Privy Purse.

VIII. The Hon. Misses Eden and Boyle, Maids of Honour; Earl Amherst, Lord of the Bedchamber in Waiting; and Sir George Seymour, Master of the Robes.

IX. The Hon. Misses Hope Johnstone and Olivia de Ros, Maids of Honour; Marquis of Winchester, Groom of the Stole; and Earl Howe, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen.

X. Marchioness of Westmeath, Lady of the Bedchamber; the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household; the Earl of Shaftesbury, acting as Lord Steward, in the absence of the Marquis Wellesley; and the Earl of Albemarle, Master of the Horse.

Then came a squadron of Life Guards, followed by his Majesty's equerries and aides-de-camp mounted in double line, and attended by a groom and two yeomen riders on each side, the deputy-adjutant and quartermaster-general, and the deputy quartermaster-general of the artillery, the quartermaster and adjutant-general and the secretary to the General Commanding-in-Chief. The Master of the Buckhounds (Viscount Anson) attended by two grooms, preceded six of the King's horses, each led by two grooms. After the deputy knight marshal and his men four a breast came the exons and clerks of the cheque, a hundred yeomen of the guard on foot with their lieutenant and ensign mounted.

Twelve footmen preceded the state carriage containing their Majesties, which was drawn by eight horses; four grooms on each side, two footmen at each door, and a yeoman of the guard at each wheel; Viscount Combermere, the Gold Stick, and the Marquis of Clanricarde, Captain of the Yeomen, riding on each side attended by four grooms. In attendance on the King and Queen were the Duchess of Gordon, acting for the Duchess Dowager of Leeds as Mistress of the Robes, and the Countess Brownlow Lady of the Bedchamber in waiting.

Another squadron of Life Guards closed the procession, which under the direction of Lord Frederick Fitzclarence directed its course through Pall Mall, Charing Cross, Whitehall, and Parliament-street,

evidently to the great gratification of the many thousand spectators that lined the way on either side, not only on the footpaths, but on the temporary scaffolding and at the windows and housetops, and arrived at the great west entrance of Westminster Abbey at a quarter past eleven.

Here their Majesties were received by the great officers of state and noblemen appointed to bear the regalia, and the prelates who had important duties to perform in the ceremonial. A procession having been formed, after the King and Queen had been robed in the robing-room, they advanced up the nave towards the choir as the choristers sang the anthem, "I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house of the Lord." In this procession, between the heralds and the officers of the royal household and the Ministers of State, came the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. The Archbishop of Canterbury followed the Lord Chancellor.

Of the Queen's regalia the ivory rod with the dove was borne by Earl Camden, the sceptre and cross by the Earl of Jersey, and the crown by the Duke of Beaufort. The Queen followed, supported by the Bishops of Winchester and Chichester, and attended by five gentlemen pensioners on each side; her train borne by the Duchess of Gordon, assisted by six daughters of earls — Ladies Georgiana Bathurst, Mary Pelham, Sophia Cust, Teresa Fox Strangways, Theodosia Brabazon, and Georgiana

Grey—and followed by the ladies and women of the bedchamber and the maids of honour.

Of the King's regalia, St. Edward's staff was borne by the Duke of Grafton, the golden spurs by the Marquis of Hastings, the sceptre with the cross by the Duke of St. Albans, the curtana by the Marquis of Salisbury, the second sword by the Marquis of Downshire, the third by the Marquis of Cleveland; their coronets carried by a page. Then followed the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, and Garter Principal King of Arms, Sir George Naylor, and the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain of England, the Marquis of Cholmondeley; the Royal Dukes with their train and coronet bearers; the High Constables of Ireland and Scotland (Duke of Leinster and the Earl of Erroll), the Earl Marshal of England (Duke of Norfolk) with his staff, and the Lord High Constable (Duke of Wellington) with his staff and baton of Field Marshal; Earl Grey with the sword of state, the Duke of Richmond with the sceptre and the dove, the Duke of Hamilton, Lord High Steward, with St. Edward's crown, and the Duke of Somerset with the orb.

After them the Bishop of Rochester bore the patina, the Bishop of Exeter the Bible, and the Bishop of Oxford the chalice, followed by the King, supported by the Bishop of Bath and Wells and the Archbishop of York, his train borne by the Marquises of Worcester, Tichfield, Douro, and the

Earls of Kerry and Euston, assisted by the Master of the Robes and his grooms. On each side of his Majesty walked ten gentlemen pensioners, not in their appropriate costume, but in the uniform of officers of the Guards, headed by their lieutenant and standard-bearer; then came the groom of the stole, the gold stick and the master of the horse, the captains of the Yeomen of the Guard and of the Gentlemen Pensioners (Lord Foley) and of the Archer Guard of Scotland (Duke of Buccleugh), and a few other subordinates of the royal household.

All having been conducted to their appointed places at the conclusion of the anthem, the King attended by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord High Constable, and the Earl Marshal, preceded by Garter King of Arms, proceeded to different points of the enclosed area, where the Archbishop made the recognition, the spectators replying "God save King William the Fourth!" and on the last occasion the drums beat, and there was a loud flourish of trumpets.

His Majesty now took his seat, and the Bible, chalice, and patina, were placed on the altar, where two officers of the wardrobe spread a rich cloth of gold and laid two handsome cushions on the steps, while the Archbishop of Canterbury put on his cope and the bishops who had to read the Litany, their vestments. The King and Queen then, with their supporters and the bearers of the regalia, advanced

to the altar, where the King offered a pall and an ingot of gold, and the Queen a pall of gold; their Majesties knelt while the prayer "O God who dwellest in the high and holy place," was said by the Archbishop, and then were conducted to their chairs of state, when the Litany and Communion Service were read, and a sermon preached by the Bishop of London.

After the sermon the Archbishop administered the Coronation Oath, which was followed by the ceremony of anointing, and this concluded with a benediction; the spurs and sword were next laid upon the altar, and the latter returned to the King by the prelates, when his Majesty offered it at the altar, whence it was redeemed by Earl Grey, who carried it, deprived of its scabbard, during the remainder of the solemnity.

Subsequently his Majesty was invested with the mantle and received the orb, the ring and the sceptres, then was crowned by the Archbishop, the spectators shouting "God save the King!" the trumpets and drums and the park guns increasing the commotion within and without.

The prayers and anthems having been finished, the peers put on their coronets; the Bible was now presented to the King, and his Majesty was enthroned with the exhortation "Stand firm and hold fast." Then followed the customary acts of homage, while the choir sang another anthem, and the treasurer of the household scattered coronation medals.

The anointing, crowning, and enthroning of the Queen succeeded.

Their Majesties having partaken of the Sacrament and been disrobed, attended as before, proceeded out of the choir to the west door of the Abbey, and on their arrival at the platform, Garter proclaimed the King as "the Most High, the Most Mighty, and Most Excellent Monarch, William the Fourth, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, King of Hanover, Duke of Brunswick and of Luneburg;" and when the regalia had been received by the officers of the Jewel Office in the robing chambers, their Majesties returned to St. James's Palace in the same state they had approached the Abbey, the ceremonial ending about three o'clock in the afternoon.

There was no banquet—the economists had sufficient influence to deprive the coronation of their Sovereign of this important feature; but the King entertained a large party of the royal family and nobility, with the principal officers of his household. The Duchess of Kent and the Princess Victoria took no part in the ceremony, and were also absent from the dinner: they were staying in the Isle of Wight. Many comments were made at the time of the absence of the heiress presumptive on such an occasion; but it was subsequently stated that the indisposition of the Princess rendered her removal from her residence to town, to take part

in so exciting a pageant, too hazardous to be attempted.

Universal rejoicing followed the coronation. In London the day was kept as a general holiday, the evening distinguished by a general illumination. In the country there were similar signs of rejoicing; and at Hastings the Princess Sophia Matilda of Gloucester selected the day for laying the first stone of a new church for the accommodation of the suburb of that beautiful town, now so well known as St. Leonards. A few days later the same ceremony was performed by the Princess Victoria at East Cowes. In short, there seemed so universal a satisfaction throughout the island in consequence of this necessary connexion of the King with his people having been performed, that the well-disposed began to believe that democratic opinions had totally disappeared from the land.

His Majesty since his accession had ennobled his eldest son by the title of Earl of Munster, Viscount Fitzclarence, and Baron Tewkesbury; his son-in-law, the Earl of Erroll in the Scottish peerage, was made a British peer by the title of Baron Kilmarnock. Subsequently the Earl of Fingall was made Baron Fingall; the Earl of Sefton, Baron Sefton; the Earl of Leitrim, Baron Clements; Lord Kinnaird, Baron Rossie; and the Right Hon. James Wellbore Ellis, Baron Dover. All were additions to the English peerage previous to the coronation.

After this ceremony the Earl of Cassilis was created Marquis of Ailsa; the Earl of Breadalbane, Earl of Ormelie and Marquis of Breadalbane; Earl Grosvenor, Marquis of Westminster; Lord George Cavendish, Earl of Burlington and Lord Cavendish of Keighley; Viscount Duncan, Earl of Camperdown; Viscount Anson, Earl of Lichfield; the Marquis of Headfort, Baron Kenlis; the Earl of Meath, Baron Claworth; the Earl of Dunmore, Baron Dunmore; the Earl of Ludlow, Baron Ludlow; Lord Belhaven, Baron Hamilton; and Lord Howden, Baron Howden; the Hon. William Maule, brother to the Earl of Dalhousie, Baron Panmure; the Hon. George Cadogan, Baron Oakley; Sir George Warwick Bampfylde, Baron Poltimore; Sir Robert Lawley, Baron Wenlock; Sir Edward Price Lloyd, Baron Mostyn; William Fitzhardinge Berkeley, Baron Segrave; Lieut.-Col. Arthur Chichester, Baron Templemore; and William Lewis Hughes, Baron Dinorben. A few days afterwards Lord Cloncurry was elevated to the English peerage as Baron Cloncurry, and Sir James Saumarez as Lord de Saumarez.

Thus were twenty-two votes added to the supporters of Government in the House of Lords. Ministers availed themselves of the opportunity to strengthen their position in other quarters. In addition to numerous promotions in the army, twenty-eight baronets were created, and the honour of knighthood conferred very nearly to the same

extent; the aldermen of London and Dublin coming in for a share of the former, and the distinguished architect Soane, being included in the latter; and subsequently Charles Bell and John Frederic Herschel were thought of for the same honour.

In the meantime the House of Commons proceeded with the Ministerial measure; the third reading was carried by a reduced majority of 58, but on the subsequent question, that the Bill do pass, there ensued a spirited debate that lasted three days; and after many able speeches had been delivered, it was carried by a majority of 109 on the 21st. On the following day it was sent up to the Lords, and read a first time.

The distinguished leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords did not lose a particle of his confidence under these circumstances. It is evident that he watched every proceeding of the Government with the greatest interest, but without any anxiety for the result—the ceremony of bringing the Reform Bill before the peers among the number. An account of what then took place he forwarded to his correspondent. At the same time, as the reader will find, he entered at length into his own measures, and carefully reviewed the existing state of parties.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, Sept. 24, 1831.

My dear Duke,

You'll have seen the account of the Bill coming to the House of Lords. The *Times* newspaper has endeavoured to write the proceeding into *an affair*. There never was anything so flat. O'Connell and some of that sort made a sort of *hear, hear*, when Lord John presented the Bill to the Speaker. I did not hear it, but the Bishop of London did. And I understand that from that moment he determined that he would vote against the Bill. Of this last fact, however, I am not so sure. I believe that he said that this cheer had induced him to make up his mind.

I had to dine here with me on Wednesday a few of the principal opposers of the Bill. We agreed to allow the first reading to pass in silence, unless something should be said to render reply necessary, and not to object to the naming of the day for the second reading by the patrons of the Bill. We agreed that we would vote against the second reading, and to rejcct the Bill upon that stage. We likewise agreed that, on discussing the Bill, we would not object to any other plan, but confine ourselves to the Bill itself.

I don't know that we have lost any supporters upon whom I counted in the last Parliament, excepting the Duke of St. Albans, Lord Stradbroke, and Lord Lake. I am not certain of the first—I am of the two last. The King has created twenty-five peers for them in ten months! They will have a new Bishop (Maltby), and, it is said, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Bishop of Norwich, and even the Archbishop of York. All this

adds about forty to their comparative numbers. But we shall be left with a very considerable majority.

I reckon upon Lord Arundel's attendance. I saw him in the House one day lately, but I beg you to write to him.

I understand that you have Lord Delamere's proxy.

Believe me, my dear Duke,

Ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, K.G.,
Stowe, Buckingham.

Petitions in favour of the Reform Bill were presented in great numbers by the supporters of Government in the House of Lords till the 3rd of October, when Earl Grey proposed the second reading of the Bill. Then ensued one of the most interesting displays of intellectual power that had ever been seen in any legislative assemblage. Although it might be supposed that the many distinguished orators who had addressed themselves so vigorously to the subject in the Commons during the brilliant series of discussions that followed the introduction of the measure, had completely exhausted it of its interest, the extraordinary talent displayed in the House of Lords during five nights that the debate on the second reading lasted, was acknowledged even in quarters most opposed to the influence of the peers.

Lord Wharncliffe proposed, as an amendment, that the Bill be read that day six months, which

having been seconded and put from the woolsack, there ensued, says a public writer, "one of the most memorable discussions in parliamentary history; for skill, force, and variety of argument, for historical, constitutional, and scholastic illustration, it was never surpassed. That some reform was necessary appeared to be generally conceded, and both sides of the noble assembly maintained their opinions with the dignified consciousness of rectitude of intention, and the most laudable patience and temper."[1]

The Duke of Wellington spoke on the second night, and made a very powerful speech. He complained that he had been misrepresented as to opinions alleged to have been expressed by him previous to his resignation of office. He approved of the existing institutions of the country, and said that were he to attempt to invent a new constitution, he would endeavour to frame one as much as possible like the present, in which property should maintain its proper influence. He averred that the Government measure would violate both the principle and practice of the constitution; that the town representation would be thrown into the hands of close self-elected committees, and destroy the balance of the agricultural representation. It would also create a fierce democratic constituency, which would return only members bound to advocate the same opinions.

[1] Wade's "British History," 906.

The next day the Marquis of Londonderry attacked the Bill with greater vehemence. The Duke of Gloucester, though he acknowledged himself a reformer, also declared against it. The Duke of Sussex supported it, so did the Earl of Radnor, Lord Melbourne, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Holland, Viscount Goderich, Lord Plunket, and the Lord Chancellor, in very able speeches. Quite as powerfully was it opposed by the Earl of Winchelsea, the Earl of Harrowby, Lord Wynford, the Earl of Eldon, Lord Lyndhurst, and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

On the division at a quarter past six in the morning, there were — *Contents* 158, *Non-contents* 199; majority against the Government 41.

Lord Sidmouth writes on the 11th of October, "What is to follow, perplexes all the powers of conjecture; a creation of peers, resignation of Ministers, prorogation of Parliament, all come within these limits. At all events, we must expect a considerable degree of agitation, which no pains will be spared to keep up and heighten. But we have done our duty; and there can be no comparison but what, I am convinced, will prove satisfactory, between the consequences of performing, and those which could not but be anticipated from neglecting it. But I write as a short-sighted mortal; a higher Power must decide our destiny."

This result created not less disappointment than rage amongst the supporters of the Government,

the most exciting language was freely used, and a disposition shown to resort to violence. Indeed, the Marquis of Londonderry and other noblemen who had had the manliness to express their opinions, as they had a constitutional right to do, in their place in Parliament, were savagely assaulted by the mob. The example of London rioting and outrage spread to the provinces. In Derby, the town gaol and the houses of many respectable inhabitants were demolished. At Nottingham, the ancient castle, the residence of the Duke of Newcastle, was destroyed. Similar mischief was perpetrated in other places.

On the 12th, a mob was suffered to march upon St. James's Palace, under the pretence of presenting addresses, and several mansions were stoned with vindictive fury. Lord Eldon, writing to Lady F. J. Bankes on the following day, says:—"Our day here yesterday was tremendously alarming. Very fortunately for me, the immense mob of reformers (hardly a decent-looking man amongst them) proceeded first to the Duke of Wellington's and set about the work of destruction. This, after some time, brought to that end of Piccadilly some hundreds of the police in a body, and the Blues coming up from the levée, the appearance of this large force was a complete protection to me, dissipating the multitude that were a little higher up Piccadilly. They had probably heard that the soldiers had behaved with great firmness in or near St. James's-square. The civil power being on the

alert, and the military being known to be ready, the night was passed most unexpectedly quiet hereabouts, and now I think we have nothing to dread. Londonderry has been seriously hurt. . . . The Duke of Newcastle's house, Lord Bristol's, and all other anti-reforming lords', have been visited, and left without glass in their windows. All the shops in the town were shut yesterday. The accounts from Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and other places, are very uncomfortable."

Such was the manner in which the supporters of the Reform Bill answered the arguments of those who were opposed to it. But some excuse might be made for a mob excited by the language expressed in the House of Commons in a discussion that took place there on the 10th, when a popular member after some expressions suggestive of violence, said he was convinced that, if the measure of reform were ultimately refused, no Government could exist unsupported by the sword. Sir Robert Peel animadverted with much warmth on the opinions expressed, and on the advice that had been given to the people not to pay taxes.

Discussions continued in both Houses on the rejection of the Bill and the outrages that had followed it, till the 20th, when his Majesty prorogued Parliament with a speech referring to the laws that had been passed; and to the arrangements made by the Conference assembled in London for the separation of Holland and Belgium. Thanks were

then given for the Queen's provision and for the supplies voted for the current year; a strict attention to a well-considered economy promised, and the assembly were dismissed with a recommendation to exercise the most careful attention for the preservation of tranquillity. Finally, the King was made to express his unaltered desire to promote the settlement of a constitutional reform "by such improvements in the representation as may be found necessary for securing to my people the full enjoyment of their rights, which in combination with those of the other orders of the State, are essential to the support of our free constitution."

Riots still continued. One of a most formidable character broke out at Bristol on the public entrance of the recorder, Sir Charles Wetherell. It lasted three days. The mansion-house, custom-house, excise office, and the bishop's palace, were plundered and set on fire, the toll-gates thrown down, the prison-doors burst open and the prisoners liberated; and in addition forty-two offices, dwelling-houses and warehouses, were completely destroyed—a loss of property incurred valued at half a million. At last the military attacked the rioters, and after a short conflict, in which three were killed, order was restored, but not till many of them had been destroyed in the flames they had themselves kindled after drinking to excess of plundered spirits.

Public meetings of a menacing character were held in various parts of the country, particularly in

the great manufacturing towns. In London, one of the London Political Union was adjourned from the Crown and Anchor to Lincoln's Inn Fields, with Sir Francis Burdett in the chair, when the organization of a National Union, with branch societies sending delegates to the central council, was agreed to. At a subsequent meeting the chairman appears to have felt for the first time a little distrust of the intentions of some of his associates; for, on a proposal that part of the council should be representatives of the working classes, Sir Francis ventured to demur, saying that it assumed the existence of a distinction of classes with separate interests. Nevertheless the proposal was adopted, and Sir Francis sagaciously withdrew his name from the association. Probably he had had an opportunity of learning the fallacy of his statements in the House of Commons respecting the authors of the incendiary publications quoted in a former page.

Incendiary fires, between the 2nd and 9th of November, became frequent in Cheshire, Yorkshire, and Somersetshire—the natural consequences of the inflammatory language that had been tolerated. The populace having been so far encouraged, announced a meeting of the Political Union of the Working Classes at White Conduit House, with Mr. Thomas Wakley in the chair, to demand universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and annual parliaments; and the programme stated thus: "All

property honestly acquired is sacred and inviolable; that all men are born equally free and have certain natural and inalienable rights; that all hereditary distinctions of birth are unnatural and opposed to the equal rights of man, and ought to be abolished;" and declared that the conveners of the meeting would never be satisfied with any law that stopped short of these principles.

The Home Secretary and the magistrates made these persons aware that a meeting for such objects was illegal and seditious, and it was postponed. The Government followed up this blow with a proclamation, declaring affiliated political unions unlawful, and cautioning persons from belonging to such combinations, and on the following day (22nd) the Birmingham Association abandoned its plan of organization.

France continued to be agitated by revolutionary movements, more particularly in Paris, where the news of the fall of Warsaw, and consequent triumph of the Russians, created immense excitement. On the 16th of September a demonstration was made in the garden of the Palais Royal by men marching in a body singing the Marseillaise and the Parisienne, and shouting "Guerre aux Russe!" "Vive la Pologne!" They assailed the house of the Minister for Foreign Affairs with stones, and threw down a part of the palisades next the Boulevard; but some troops dispersed them. On the following days the Ministers, Casimir Perier

and General Sebastiani, were burnt in effigy. The crowds increased and evinced such a tendency to commotion that the National Guard were called out as well as some cavalry. The former appeared wearing crape round their arms, as if in mourning for the loss of Poland.

Very violent discussions took place in the Chambers respecting the foreign policy of the Government, but the latter were supported by a majority. After the debate on the Reform Bill in England in the House of Lords, the Chambers passed a measure for the abolition of an hereditary peerage, by a division of 324 to 86. This triumph of Republican principles shortly afterwards bore its appropriate fruit in an insurrection that broke out in the important city of Lyons. The working classes armed and drove the military from the town on the 21st of November, but shortly afterwards Marshal Soult arrived with reinforcements, and at the head of 26,000 men entered Lyons, where, having disbanded the National Guard and punished other regiments that had disgraced themselves by their retreat, he speedily restored order.

Poland was entirely prostrate; all opposition had ceased; the principal persons involved in the insurrection had either fallen in battle or taken to flight, and their country became more completely than before a Russian province. In Belgium the King had become more reconciled to his subjects, and the arrangements having been completed that

guaranteed the integrity of his kingdom, he addressed himself earnestly to the task of government. In Portugal there had been an insurrection in a regiment stationed at Lisbon; in different prisons 26,000 persons were said to be confined for political offences; and so insecure was property considered in the neighbourhood of the capital, in consequence of outrages of all kinds being perpetrated on tradespeople known to be friendly to the English, that two English line-of-battle-ships were sent to the Tagus from Portsmouth for the protection of British interests.

The political associations in England had attracted the attention of the Duke of Wellington, who wrote the following note respecting them:—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Walmer Castle, Nov. 23, 1831.

My dear Duke,

Since I wrote to you last night, I have received the proclamation against associations.

It appears to me that this proclamation must put an end to the plan which I proposed to you.

In the meantime Lord Wharncliffe is in a negotiation with the Government upon a modification of their plan. I don't think that this will ever come to anything, particularly if I should take part in it. I do not yet know what Lord Wharncliffe proposes. I will let you know as soon as I shall be informed.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

Wellington.

Lord Eldon wrote to Lord Stowell:—

"The thing that I most feel to be dangerous is the formation of bodies of men under the name of political unions, which I see are forming in London, in every part of England, and in Ireland; the latter professedly to support English reform, as necessarily leading to the attainment of Irish as well as English objects. As to these political unions, I am confident that if Parliament does not do what it did between 1789 and 1794—put them down by Act of Parliament—they will put down the Parliament itself. I have seen a great deal of mischief going forward in the country, but till those institutions were becoming general, and till the Government, by connivance and apathy, can be said rather to encourage than discourage them, I have had hopes that matters might get right. The crisis is formidable because of these unions."

The proclamation against the unions appears to have been the result of a communication from the Duke of Wellington; indeed, more than one of the leaders of the Opposition communicated with the Government on this subject. Lord Eldon tells his brother on the 8th of December:—"The Duke of Wellington did not attend the House the other night. I sat with him near an hour the day before in deep conversation, and most interesting letters that he wrote to a great personage produced the proclamation against the unions. But if Parlia-

ment will not interfere further, the proclamation will be of little use—I think of no use."

The Government measure underwent some modifications. These alterations are thus described by Lord Sidmouth:—

"The new Bill is divested of some of the injustice and some of the inconsistencies and absurdities of the former, but of these an abundance is still retained. The destructive character and tendency of the old Bill remain unchanged and unmitigated in the new. Under its provisions too many doors will be closed against that accessibility to the House of Commons which ought to be afforded to all the classes of the community; and under its operation a domineering, democratical influence firmly and irrevocably established. All attempts at reasonable compromise have proved abortive, and it is too evident that this object would be effected without concessions which would be dangerous, or without such alterations in the Bill as Government dare not and will not accede to, whatever their wishes may be."

The Houses of Parliament were opened on the 6th of December by the King in person, with a speech the first paragraph of which recommended a speedy and satisfactory settlement of the reform question; the second lamented the distress prevailing in various parts of the country; the third referred with great concern to the appearance of the cholera; the fourth notices the systematic opposi-

tion made to the payment of tithes in Ireland; the fifth drew attention to the proceedings of the Portuguese Government; the sixth mentioned the settlement of the divided kingdoms of Holland and Belgium; the seventh spoke of a convention made with the King of the French for the suppression of the African slave-trade; and concluded with the usual friendly assurance from foreign Powers. An assurance that the estimates for the ensuing year would be framed with the strictest regard for economy, was followed by an allusion to the disgraceful riots at Bristol. The speech concluded with an intimation that combinations, under whatever pretext, were incompatible with all regular government, and expressed a determination to repress all illegal proceedings.

Discussions on the address followed in both Houses; in the Commons they continued for a week. On the 12th of December Lord J. Russell again brought forward the Parliamentary Reform Bill, which after some observations by Sir Robert Peel, Lord Althorp, and Mr. Croker, was read a first time. On the 15th, in the Lords, after Lord Melbourne had moved for a Select Committee to inquire into the state of the Irish Tithe Laws, the Earl of Wicklow denounced the agitation that had been suffered to proceed in Ireland.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Brunswick-terrace, Dec. 13, 1831.

My dear Duke,

I was much gratified by your Grace's letter, which I received yesterday. I had not heard the particulars of the conference so detailed, but had been told that the result had failed, which I sincerely regret. The prospect is most gloomy. The measure of reform will, I fear, be ultimately carried with all its objections; but I cannot go so far as your Grace in thinking that the means of carrying it will be found in an increase of the peerage.

Lord C. has conducted himself with great propriety and good sense, and has created a powerful impression favourable to his character, and talents, and judgment. The reform question is not alone the great object of alarm. It is clear that no decisive measure is to be taken to put down the political unions, which supersede all government. Sir Herbert Taylor speaks in the highest terms of Lord C. I have, however, no communication with him, as you may readily suppose, on political matters; but I am sure you will give me credit for availing myself at all times of an opportunity of placing in its just and fair light the candid and loyal principles on which your political conduct is guided; and though your present exertions have not been successful, I am persuaded they have operated with advantage to your Grace and to your friends.

Believe me always, my dear Duke,
With respect and sincere attachment,
Very faithfully yours,
W. H. Fremantle.

P.S.—I have not yet heard what passed yesterday in the House of Commons.

Respecting this communication we publish the following commentary:—

RIGHT HON. THOMAS GRENVILLE TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland-square, 16th Dec. 1831.

My dear Duke,

I return you the Brunswick-terrace letter. It is quite ludicrous in its court language, and in its mortal apprehension of committing the writer to the fearful risk of the expression of any opinion; but though I trace in every word of it his personal fears and cautions about himself, I do not consider what he says about C. and you as the protecting expression of his own sentiments, but the awkward signification of the opinions of a greater person, which he dares not directly quote, and therefore thus obscurely alludes to.

I believe, amongst all reasonable and moderate men, the dissatisfaction at seeing the unions undisturbed is very general; and I remain still of opinion that the Ministers should have been systematically pursued upon that subject, more especially because you will see in Ld. Grey's Irish speech in this day's *Morning Post*, "his political creed always was, that the best way to suppress or prevent sedition was to take away all reasonable cause of complaint." Now, as our present laws prescribe more direct modes of preventing sedition, I think the Ministers should be directly charged with an avowed and systematic determination to suspend the execution of the laws against sedition, until those seditious cries and publications should have carried by intimidation their measure of reform.

What Ld. G. says in the same speech of the Irish

Association Act having expired "*accidentally*" *by the dissolution* of Parliament, is absolutely childish, though it does not appear to have been noticed.

I have just heard that the first clause in Ld. B.'s Bankrupt Bill appoints commissioners "under *the* Great Seal of the United Kingdoms of Gr. Br. and Ireland;" there being, as I am told, a separate English Great Seal and an Irish one. Again, I am told that in their new Act for selling coals by weight the coal-merchant, under penalties, is obliged to carry *scales* with him, but not a word about *weights*.

The *Herald's* Spanish Revolution is utterly disbelieved.

Yours ever most affectionately,

J. G.

Little more was done in Parliament during the remainder of the year. On the 16th Lord Althorp moved the order of the day for the second reading of the Reform Bill, which created a very animated debate between Lord Porchester, Sir Edward Sugden, Mr. Bulwer, Lord Mahon, Mr. Macaulay, Mr. Croker, and Lord Althorp. It was renewed on the following day by Sir R. Inglis, Mr. Stewart Wortley, Lord John Russell, Sir C. Wetherell, Mr. Stanley, Sir Robert Peel, and other members. On a division there was the large majority of 162 in favour of the Bill—exactly the number of the minority. The House then adjourned till after Christmas.

It was curious to watch the effect in France of the political proceedings in England: because Eng-

lishmen made a strong resistance to the progress of democratic principles, Frenchmen adopted them with feverish impatience. On this subject Lord Eldon, writing to Lady F. J. Bankes, says:—

"I am told that the French in this country attribute very much what is passing in their own to our proceedings here. Our riots, our tumults, our talk and proceedings about reform, the rumours of creating peers to stifle the voice of the majority of peers here,—these things the French here think have hastened their country more to do the works of mischief they have done in France. Their countrymen are more volatile than we are; they have travelled somewhat quicker on the road to ruin than we sluggish Englishmen travel: but we are, I fear, on the same road."

Such impressions were general among the distinguished statesmen of the party to which the venerable writer belonged, at the close of the year 1831.

CHAPTER XV.

[1832.]

POPULAR APPEALS—"THE PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATE SOCIETY"—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S ACCOUNT OF THE RESULT OF HIS ADDRESS TO THE KING ON THE TENDENCY OF THE POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS—HIS REASONS FOR DECLINING TO INTERFERE—PROGRESS OF THE REFORM BILL—AFFAIRS IN FRANCE AND IRELAND—LORD HOLLAND'S DEFENCE OF THE KING OF THE FRENCH—OPINIONS OF LORDS SIDMOUTH AND ELDON—MINISTERS DEFEATED IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS IN COMMITTEE ON THE REFORM BILL—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AND SIR ROBERT PEEL CONSULTED—GREAT EXCITEMENT—THE PROJECT OF FORMING A CONSERVATIVE MINISTRY ABANDONED—ARRANGEMENT IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS THAT SECURED THE PASSING OF THE BILL—WHIG TRIUMPH.

CHAPTER XV.

THE new year did not open encouragingly to the political party opposed to the measure, threatening changes in the representation, that the Government had evidently determined to carry at any cost. The increased majority at the second reading of the Reform Bill in the House of Commons, and the tone of the different societies that had been established to maintain what were called "the rights of the people," showed that the political agitation which had so powerfully excited the humbler classes of the community, had affected one branch of the Legislature, and might in all probability influence the other.

It is scarcely possible to give an adequate idea of the extent to which popular appeals were now made, for the express purpose of advancing the cause of democracy in the House of Commons. Among other devices, having this object in view, was the formation of an association called "The Parliamentary Candidate Society," which was instituted to recommend representatives to constituencies. It was a kind of political "private inquiry" office, sitting at the head quarters of Radi-

calism, the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, where every information was procurable respecting any person who chose to offer to represent in Parliament any borough, city, or county in the kingdom. At its head was a well-known tailor in Charing-cross, an influential member of the philosophical reformers of the *Westminster Review*, and the society was supported by all the Whigs and Radicals who could afford to subscribe to its funds.

A record was kept of the votes of every member of the present Parliament, of his absences at divisions, of the number of his speeches, and of the extent of his attendance, and an analysis made of whatever he had spoken or written on political subjects; more particularly on those measures the society was most desirous to advance; such as reform, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and annual parliaments. As to persons not in Parliament, a jealous scrutiny was made into their antecedents, connexions, thoughts and actions; and when they ventured to present themselves on the hustings for nomination, with professions of liberality, they were exposed to a series of questions and comments they were generally totally unprepared to answer.

The extent to which a society having such machinery could interfere with the free and unbiassed choice of the electors, began at last to make itself evident to the more sensible portion of its patrons, and they gradually withdrew themselves and their subscriptions. A deficiency in the funds

in a short time caused the machinery to stop, and no one profited by the reports, the analyses, and the private inquiries, but the ingenious speculator who had superintended them.

The correspondence of the Duke of Wellington with the Duke of Buckingham continued, and in the following letter the reader will find a true version of the interposition of the former to save the country from the dangers threatened by the political societies, and the subsequent conduct of the King and his Ministers. The Government could not afford totally to break with the democratic orators, and therefore made only a mild attempt at interference, when it was made plain to them that treason was stalking boldly abroad.

On other subjects the Duke will be found not less explicit. His correspondent appears to have recommended a second interposition; the arguments with which his Grace replies to the suggestions that had been made to him, are particularly worthy of observation. How conclusive they were was proved not many months afterwards. His knowledge of the character of the King was evidently profound. His concluding observations, deprecating interference, were founded on the same intimate knowledge of the very critical times in which he wrote.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, Jan. 2, 1832.

My dear Duke,

I received last night your note by your messenger. I could not follow your advice even if I concurred with you in thinking that the course which you propose is advisable.

I have not yet quitted the apartment in which I had the pleasure of receiving you last. If I was to go to Brighton, I should probably be unable to attend the King, or to converse with him.

But is the course which you propose advisable?

When I wrote to the King in November, on the armament of the political associations, I had in hand a case on which I was certain that nineteen twentieths of the whole country would concur with me. I did it likewise at a period of the year at which I knew that if the King wished to get rid of the bonds in which he is held, I could assist him in doing so. There was time to call a new Parliament, and the sense of the country would have been taken on a question on which there would be no doubt.

What did the King do? He concurred in (I may say without exaggeration) every opinion which I gave him. His Ministers saw their scrape, and prevailed upon the press and the political associations to alter their course; they issued a mock proclamation, and promised the King a Bill to repress the associations, which promise they never performed, and the King is quite satisfied and goes on with them as well as ever!

This happened on a really good and understood case,

and at a peculiarly favourable season of the year. Let us see how we stand on this point of the peerage.

I don't deny that the independence of the H. of Lords is a very important object to the country, nor that the country would respond favourably to an appeal on that point. But mind! it would be represented and understood as an appeal on the question of reform or no reform.

But is there time for an appeal or to call a new Parliament from this day? You could not open a new Parliament even if you were to dissolve on this day, till the 8th of March at soonest. The Mutiny Bill expires on the 25th March.

Observe what is to be done. I am to see the King, to advise him to refuse to create peers, to tell him that I will form a Government and protect him from that demand; to convince him that I can so protect him. I must then form this Government and dissolve the Parliament, which, with all haste, could not be effected in ten days; which would bring the opening of the new Parliament to the 18th March.

But it may be supposed that we can do without a new Parliament. That appears to me to be absolutely impossible. This House of Commons is formed purposely to carry parliamentary reform. It is a part of the conspiracy against the House of Lords; it would not hear of a Minister who should found his authority on the basis of protection of the independence of the H. of Lords. If I should go to the King, therefore, I must answer the first question which he would put to me, by telling him that I could not look for the support of the present House of Commons to any Ministry formed on the principle of supporting the independence of the H.

of Lords, and that I could not at this moment advise him to dissolve his Parliament.

But would the King embark with me in a new course? He would just talk enough to discover whether I had myself any confidence in the course which I should recommend to him. If he should find that I saw the risks and dangers, which as an honest and experienced man I could not avoid seeing, he would shake me off, and would found his compliance with the recommendations of his Ministers even upon what should have passed with me.

Believe me, my dear Duke, that no man feels more strongly than I do the dangers of our situation. The great mischief of all is the weakness of our poor King, who cannot or will not see his danger, or the road out of it when it is pointed out to him; and he allows himself to be deceived and trifled with by his Ministers.

I know that the times are approaching, if not come, when men must consider themselves as on a field of battle, and must sacrifice themselves for the public interests. But it behoves a man like me to look around him and consider the consequences, not to himself alone, but what is more important to the public interests, of every step he takes; and I must say, that in that view of this case, I differ in opinion with you, and am convinced that I should do harm rather than good by interference.

Ever, my dear Duke,
Yours most sincerely,
WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, K.G.

It is evident that the Duke saw the true state of

the case, and though perfectly aware of the nature and proximity of the evils that threatened the country, he had carefully examined his means of preventing their approach, and had rightly come to the conclusion that they were not to be relied upon. His insight into the views of the Whigs, and into the intentions of their Radical supporters, was as clear as it was comprehensive, and he shows the insuperable difficulties that lay in the way of his attempting to counteract them. The statesmanlike exposition of his position, which he lays before his correspondent, possesses a higher recommendation in the evidence it affords of the writer's honesty of purpose. He would have been totally indifferent to danger, and have cared for no obstacles, could he have seen a way open to him that he could have conscientiously recommended to his Sovereign; but as this did not present itself, he would not interfere only to embarrass the King and still further add to the unhealthy excitement of the country.

The sentiments with which he concludes his communication show the deep sense of responsibility that influenced him. He looked to the public interests, and though quite ready to sacrifice himself for their advancement, was not to be persuaded into taking any step that held out no prospect of advancing them. These are principles that ought to actuate all public men under similar temptations to action; but it is on very rare occasions only that we see them displayed.

The House of Commons resumed its sittings on the 17th of January. Two days afterwards Mr. Stanley moved for leave to bring in the Reform Bill for Ireland, which after a few remarks was permitted. The same process was then gone through with the Bill for Scotland. On the 20th, Lord John Russell brought the English Reform Bill into Committee, previously to which Sir Robert Peel divided the House on the necessity of having information respecting the fifty-six boroughs to be disfranchised, when the Government had a majority of 53. Subsequently an amendment was moved by Mr. Croker, when they had another of 75.

On the 23rd the House went again into Committee, when Mr. Goulburn moved an amendment, which was supported by Sir Robert Peel, Sir J. Warrender, and Mr. Croker, and was opposed by Lord Althorp and Lord John Russell. It was lost, the division being 210 against 112. Two more divisions took place on the 24th, with similar results.

On the 26th, the Earl of Aberdeen brought forward a motion in the House of Lords on the affairs of Belgium, and strongly censured the policy of Government. This Lord Grey justified. The Duke of Wellington supported the motion. But on a division there was a majority for Ministers of 37. On the same day Mr. Herries brought under the consideration of the House of Commons the conduct of Ministers in having disposed of public

money without the consent of Parliament. An animated debate followed, in the course of which Mr. O'Connell asserted that the appropriation made by Ministers was a spoliation of the people's property. On a division the majority of the Government fell to 24.

During the progress of the Reform Bill in Committee several amendments were proposed, but the divisions were always in favour of Government, though varying in the extent of the majority. The third reading came on on March 19th, and concluded on the 22nd, with a majority for Ministers of 116. On the 26th it was brought up to the Lords by a deputation from the Commons, and read a first time without a division.

In the meantime affairs in France had been proceeding in a manner far from encouraging to the King of the Barricades. The Chamber of Deputies having abolished the hereditary peerage, now laid hands on the property of the Crown, and the most violent excitement daily manifested itself during their deliberations. The Chamber of Peers passed a Bill for the banishment of the elder branch of the Bourbons, and the family of Bonaparte, by a majority of 51.

A plot for assassinating the King at a ball at the Tuileries, on the 2nd of February, was discovered, and the conspirators appeared with arms in different parts of the capital, but were speedily overpowered and a great number captured and sent to prison.

Disturbances in the provinces were of constant occurrence.

The condition of Ireland continued to be most alarming, midnight plunderings and assassinations being frequent, the farmers and peasantry refusing to pay tithes, and the demagogues apparently having it all their own way. Under these circumstances the Protestants united for mutual protection, and a long and sanguinary conflict appeared to be imminent. On the 29th of February, the Earl of Roden, one of the most truly patriotic members of the Irish peerage, presented a petition to the King at a levée, from the Protestants of Ireland, against the Irish Reform Bill, with 230,000 signatures.

The Government continued to distribute honours and emoluments broadcast among supporters and expected supporters. A few persons distinguished for intellectual ability participated in this liberality, and Dr. David Brewster obtained the honour of knighthood with Robert Smirke the architect. Sir John Cam Hobhouse, Bart., had been appointed Secretary-at-War and sworn of the Privy Council. The 21st of March was held as a General Fast. The public mind still remained in a most disturbed state in the Metropolis and in the provinces, and at Dunstable property was destroyed by incendiary fires to a large amount.

There was another riot in Paris on the 1st of April, which lasted two days, in which both Carlists and Republicans were said to have assisted.

The Government was getting daily more unpopular at home, and had put an end to the good understanding that had hitherto been maintained between France and England by sending an expedition into Ancona. This was the first of a series of acts committed by Louis Philippe to advance that selfish policy for which he subsequently became notorious. The number of his admirers in England began sensibly to diminish, and severe attacks were made upon him both in public and private.

Lord Holland, though he had long acquired a certain celebrity as a most zealous Imperialist, thought it necessary to defend the King of the French, which he did at considerable length in a letter written at this period. He appears not to have known the various intrigues in which the Duc d'Orleans had been engaged previously to his ascent of the French throne, and gives the most favourable interpretation to his proceedings when he became King.[1] Lord Holland, however, was sometimes eccentric in his judgments, and subsequent events proved the accuracy of those impressions respecting Louis Philippe, which he vainly endeavoured to remove.

The revival of the parliamentary struggle in the House of Lords was regarded with increasing anxiety by the more experienced statesmen among

[1] "Foreign Reminiscences." By Henry Richard Lord Holland. Edited by his son, Henry Edward Lord Holland. 1850. Appendix, 350.

the Opposition. Lord Sidmouth, writing to Lord Exmouth, says:—

"Would to God that we could be relieved from the dead weight that oppresses our unhappy country, consisting, as it does, of a spurious liberality, of most dangerous though mock reform, of disgrace abroad, and misrule and turbulence at home." "You will find us all," he wrote to his son-in-law three days later, "impressed with a deep sense of the awful state of the times. But fear is weakness. Let each of us discharge his various duties zealously and firmly, and learn to say with humble confidence,

"'Je crains Dieu, cher Abner, et je n'ai point d'autre crainte.'"

Towards the end of March Lord Sidmouth wrote to Lord Exmouth, stating—

"Lord Eldon's heart is in the momentous subject now before the House of Lords. The unsteadiness of some of those who contributed to the victory in October last affects him deeply, as it must every one who thinks as he, and you, and I think, and who feels on such subjects as we feel. For my own part, I should prefer seeing this destructive Bill carried by a most unconstitutional and flagrant misuse of the royal prerogative, than at the expense of the consistency, honour, and character of the House of Lords. *I* will not, therefore, assist in relieving Lord Grey from the inducement to do wrong by doing wrong myself."

In the same month Lord Eldon wrote to Lord Stowell:—

"It seems to me now too clear that the opponents to the Reform Bill will split upon the question about reading the Bill a second time, or rejecting it upon the second reading. If they do, I fear the Bill will pass. I attribute much to affright and fear of mobs. I don't wonder that there should be such affright and fear. The numerous most violent and furious menacing letters which I receive are enough to affright persons less accustomed than I am to receive them. I am myself sure that those who are afraid of the immediate consequences of rejecting the Bill will ultimately suffer much more by passing it, the bishops particularly."

On the 25th of April, which was Easter Monday, their Majesties were present at the opening of another new bridge, but a less imposing structure than the one that grandly spans the Thames from the City to the Borough; it was, nevertheless, very handsome, having been designed by Sir George Rennie, and built at an expense of 41,000*l.* It was the sixth bridge that had been erected at Staines within the last forty years, and its first stone had been laid by their Majesties, when Duke and Duchess of Clarence, on the 14th of September, 1829.

Two temporary triumphal arches were erected, and every preparation made in honour of such

illustrious visitors, the entire population of the neighbourhood assisting at the pageant, which passed off with entire success, to the evident gratification of their Majesties, and of every one present. The new bridge was much admired, especially when seen from the water. The middle arches had a span of seventy-four feet, and the side ones one of sixty-six; there were other arches on either side for the towing-path and land-floods; and the piers being over nine feet in thickness, the general effect was light and graceful.

On the 9th of April Earl Grey moved the second reading of the Reform Bill in the House of Lords. In the course of the debate that ensued it appeared, as Lord Eldon had announced, that there was a division in the Opposition. Lords Ellenborough, Mansfield, Wicklow, Lyndhurst, Wyndford, the Marquis of Londonderry, the Dukes of Wellington and Buckingham, and other peers, opposed the measure with unabated spirit; but the Earls of Harrowby and Haddington, and Lord Gage, who had before voted with them, announced their determination to vote for it. The discussion continued till the 13th, when, on the division, there was a majority for the second reading, of *nine*.

The House of Lords went into Committee on the Bill on the 7th of May, when Lord Lyndhurst moved an amendment that the consideration of the first clause should be postponed. The Earl of Harrowby and Lord Bexley supported the amend-

ment. The Duke of Wellington said, though averse to the Bill, as it had passed in that House by a majority, he considered himself bound as an honest member of Parliament to do his best to render it fit to contribute to the government of the country. Several other peers spoke with great animation for and against the measure, but on a division Ministers were left in a minority of thirty-five.

This result produced a startling effect upon the Government; and Earl Grey, after communicating with his colleagues, is said to have offered his Majesty the choice of two evils—the creation of a sufficient number of peers to secure the Reform Bill passing into a law, or the resignation of his Ministers. The King accepted the latter; the Administration resigned, and Lord Lyndhurst was sent for by his Majesty. The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel were at once consulted. The former knew that the state of things he has described in a preceding page had not in the slightest degree altered, and was adverse to undertaking the government of the country, though willing to assist an Administration that would bring forward such a modified measure of reform as would be approved of in the House of Lords.

Great care, however, was taken that his Grace should do nothing of the kind. The political unions and other mischievous associations were stirred up to a state of the most menacing activity. An immense meeting was held at Birmingham to

petition Parliament to insist that the Reform Bill should be passed without any alteration. In the London Political Union the names of 1200 new members were enrolled, and a resolution was agreed to, to pay no taxes till the Reform Bill had been passed.

In the House of Commons on the 10th of May, Lord Ebrington moved that an address be presented to his Majesty, earnestly imploring him to call to his counsels only such persons as were likely to make the Reform Bill the law of the land. After some violent speeches from its supporters, and an earnest and eloquent opposition from Sir Robert Peel and other members, it was carried by a majority of eighty.

It is scarcely possible to conceive the extent of the excitement that was got up for the express purpose of frightening the King, and preventing the formation of a new Administration. To prevent a charge of exaggeration we quote a description of the actual state of the country at this time, from a work well known for its ultra-Liberal principles:—

"The newspapers were almost entirely on the popular side, and kept up a raking fire against 'the oligarchy' and 'usurping boroughmongers!' At London, Birmingham, Manchester, and other large towns simultaneously, meetings were held to petition the House of Commons *to stop the supplies*. In the Metropolis, placards were everywhere exhibited enjoining the union of all friends to the cause—*an*

enforcement of the public rights at all hazards, and a general resistance to the payment of taxes, rates, and tithes. The political societies were in active communication; and at their meetings, and in the leading daily journals, *projects for organizing and arming the people* were openly discussed and recommended. In case of need the population of the large towns were ready to be precipitated on the Metropolis."[1]

The Duke of Wellington having consulted Lord Sidmouth[2] and other experienced statesmen, prudently abandoned the idea of forming a Government under such circumstances; and in an interview with the King on the 15th, he acknowledged his inability to promote the formation of a new Administration. What advice he gave we are not prepared to state, but there is reason to believe that he proposed the arrangement that was afterwards carried into effect. On the 17th his Grace, in the House of Lords, entered into an explanation of the part he had been obliged to take in the memorable transactions of the last week. Cotemporaneously the following letter from the King's private secretary was circulated among the Opposition peers:—

St. James's Palace, May, 1832.

My dear Lord,

I am honoured with his Majesty's commands to acquaint your lordship that all difficulties to the arrangements in

[1] Wade's "British History Chronologically Arranged," 914.
[2] Dean Pellew's "Life of Lord Sidmouth," iii. 435.

progress will be obviated by a declaration in the House to-night from a sufficient number of peers that, in consequence of the present state of affairs, they have come to the resolution of dropping their further opposition to the Reform Bill, so that it may pass without delay, and as nearly as possible in its present shape.

I have the honour to be,

Yours sincerely,

HERBERT TAYLOR.

The Duke of Buckingham had taken a deep interest in these proceedings, and had originally, perhaps, in some measure assisted in producing them, by a letter addressed to the King on the state of the nation, which had been published in the leading journals. He wrote to the Duke of Wellington for information respecting the re-establishment of the late Government, which produced the following reply:—

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

London, May 17, 1832.

MY DEAR DUKE,

I received your note last night. The newspapers of this morning do not appear to indicate any final settlement; though I heard in the evening that the whole affair was arranged. It is quite hopeless to obtain any unanimous opinion from our friends upon parliamentary reform.

Believe me ever yours most sincerely,

WELLINGTON.

His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, &c., K.G.

Some additional peers were made by the Government in the month of May; of these, Lord Francis Godolphin Osborne was created Baron Godolphin; and Lucius Viscount Falkland, Baron Hunsdon.

The House of Peers went into Committee on the Reform Bill, and though dissentient voices were occasionally heard, there was but little controversy when the several clauses were considered; the leaders of the Opposition absenting themselves till the Bill was read a third time, on the 4th of June, when the Earl of Harrowby expressed his disapprobation both of the Bill and of the recent proceedings of the Government, which he stigmatized as "nothing more nor less than a skilful party manœuvre, the success of which he did not envy."

On the third reading, there was a majority of eighty-four, and when the Lord Chancellor put the question "that this Bill do pass," it was carried without a division, and the royal assent was given by commission on the 7th.

Thus, after an unexampled parliamentary struggle, there passed into a law the most extraordinary measure that had ever been brought before the Legislature, whether considered with regard to the extensive changes it was to produce on the represented, or the delusive promises it held out to the unrepresented part of the community.

The inability of the Conservative leaders to form a Government was variously represented; but there

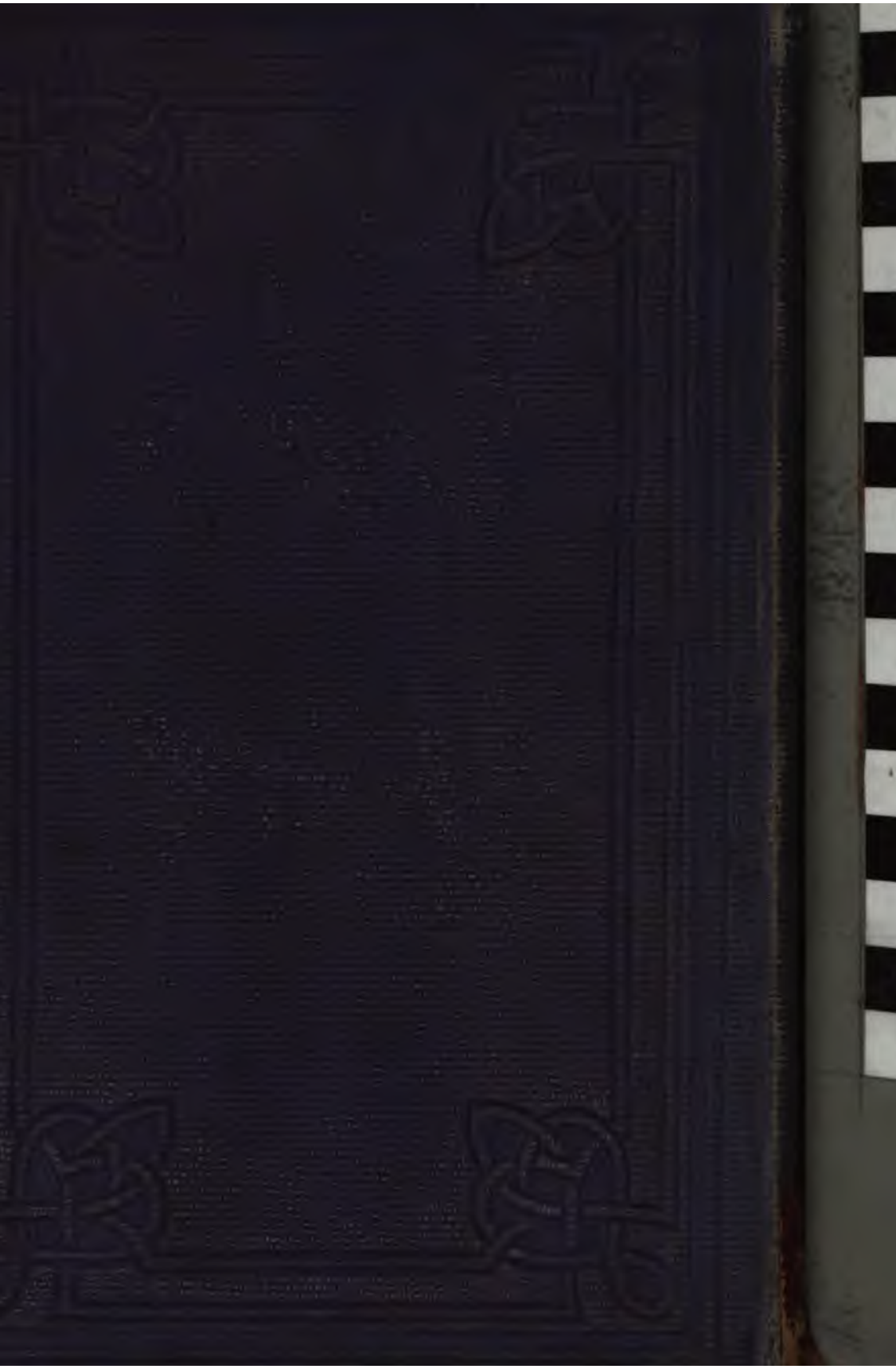
is no doubt that the Duke acted prudently, under the circumstances, in avoiding the opposition with which he was threatened. Sedition was rampant, and the Whigs apparently determined to sanction any proceedings that promised to drive their opponents from power, and restore it to themselves. It is impossible to exaggerate the dangerous state of the country, which the machinations of political adventurers had produced. Nothing like it had been seen in England before, and we trust nothing like it will ever be seen in England again.

In their desperation and utter regardlessness of consequences, that the supporters of reform would have encouraged serious disturbances, there can be but little doubt; and the people were generally so thoroughly deluded with respect to the benefits the measure was to bring them, and as to the cause of the opposition it had received, that they could easily have been excited into an attack on the members of a Conservative Ministry, if such had been formed, and on its political friends wherever they might be found.

Possibly the Whigs intended nothing more than intimidation; but it cannot be denied that their conduct showed a recklessness of consequences more characteristic of a defeated faction, than of the intense patriotism they assumed. However, if the end justifies the means, they no doubt were quite satisfied of the propriety of their proceedings, when they found themselves retaining the Ministerial

seats in Parliament, and sharing the Government patronage.

They then addressed themselves to the task of composing the disturbed elements of society; they endeavoured to hush the angry storm they had evoked; to pour oil upon the troubled waters; to calm the tempestuous winds; to throw across the black horizon the brilliant arc that promised place and power. No sooner were they assured of a continuance of office, than they commenced a more congenial labour. The noisiest of the Radical leaders were soothed with representations of the great moral triumph they had achieved; and the most violent of the democratic communities pacified with assurances of the coming millennium of labour they had expedited. Doubtless the big loaf and the low-priced beverage were made to figure prominently in the bright prospect that now dazzled the eyes of the children of toil; but the great source of satisfaction was the acknowledged inability of "the enemies of the people" to hinder the progress of those events that were to be so fruitful to them of material advantages. Such obstacles having been disposed of, the realization of their utmost hopes was merely a question of time, for which they were instructed to wait patiently, with perfect confidence in their Whig benefactors.

END OF VOL. I.

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